

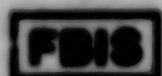
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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1789**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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28 May 1980

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FRG JOURNAL ASSESSES WARSAW PACT-NATO BALANCE OF FORCES

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 23 No 4, Apr 80 pp 173-179, 181-183

[Article by Lt Col Herwig Pickert, Bundeswehr General Staff: "The NATO-Warsaw Pact Military Balance of Forces: Critical Analysis of Annual Report, 'The Military Balance 1979-1980,' of International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London"]

[Text] The "Military Balance" lists the military potential of all countries of the world and analyzes the East-West balance of forces. This publication of the London institute is essentially based on data obtained from different countries as well as on the institute's own findings and research. Figures and data contained in this analysis of the annual report are based on the "Military Balance 1979-1980" unless other sources are expressly named. In individual cases certain figures of this year's report differ considerably from those of previous years, giving the impression of larger quantitative jumps; these differences are not explained in the report and can therefore not be followed up.

In this analysis of the annual report, NATO and Warsaw Pact (WP) nations are dealt with. Consideration of additional countries, e.g., the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Latin America--however politically acute it may be at the present time--would go beyond the scope of this work.

First of all it must be noted that individual results of the "Military Balance" as well as of this analysis should not be considered in isolation; the following two segments of the annual report especially deserve a critical evaluation:

Ground Forces: As opposed to previous years, the IISS records only fully deployable WP divisions of category 1, excluding the Soviet Union's Western military regions. The fact that the number of NATO divisions has remained unchanged necessarily had to lead to the false impression that the threat from WP ground forces in Europe has decreased.

Theater Nuclear Forces (TNF): The IISS has attempted this year to analyze the nuclear potential intended for deployment in Europe. This is based on a number of admittedly subjective assumptions which led the IISS to the conclusion that the NATO's TNF and the WP's TNF are nearly balanced out. Even these in part doubtful parameters allow an approximate balance in the TNF only when a part of the United States strategic systems is included; in fact, however, the East has a considerable advantage in TNF in Europe.

This means that the "Military Balance" gives a considerable amount of open data about the military balance of forces to an interested public. For the reasons cited, which will be dealt with in more detail, the annual report cannot form the basis for security-political decisions. For this, data normally considered to be factual, as well as scientifically safeguarded methods of study, are required.

#### The Reliability of IISS Data

In this year's report, various inaccuracies, mistakes and unclear or contradictory data can be noted. This leads to a certain doubt of the reliability of the annual report which had once been especially valued as an open source. Examples to prove this:

In various instances, individual figures and sum totals do not agree. The total number of United States troops in Europe is too low.<sup>1</sup> The numbers relating to Soviet submarines contradict each other.<sup>2</sup> The sum total for the Soviet Naval flying forces, even if refueling planes are classified as fighter planes, is not 870, but only 790.<sup>3</sup> According to IISS definition,<sup>4</sup> however, these do not belong to the fighter planes. Somewhere else, e.g., with the Soviet long-range flying forces, they do not give a number of fighter planes but only the total number of airplanes.<sup>5</sup> In another instance also the report does not follow its own definition of fighter planes, which includes trainers suitable and destined for combat. Therefore, for the WP the training planes, although suitable, are not counted among the fighter planes, while they are counted as such for most of the NATO air forces. An additional consequence of this is that by comparison with the data in last year's report, one must get the impression at first glance that the WP has decreased its air force in part considerably; in last year's report, the suitable training planes had been included in the sum of the fighter planes.

There are additional discrepancies between individual figures and sum totals among the Canadian fighter planes<sup>7</sup> and the French antiaircraft rocket units.

Confusion also results from the fact that the range of certain weapons systems is not defined, i.e., is not defined consistently. In general, the term range is used to mean the distance between launch and target for nonreusable weapons systems such as missiles and rockets. The term range merely indicates distance to an intermediate landing place before actual deployment for reusable weapons systems such as planes. On the other hand, the action radius of fighter planes, i.e., the distance which can be covered

from start to target and back, with certain reserves for the actual combat as well as for landing, is relevant for deployment and thus essential for an analysis of potential. The action radius cannot be given with a single figure for any weapons system, because it depends among other things on weight of arms carried, speed and altitude. In addition, differing standards of length such as "statute mile" and "nautical mile"<sup>9</sup> are used in the IISS report without differentiation. When describing the characteristics of nuclear carriers,<sup>10</sup> maximal ranges are given in "statute miles;" at the TNF comparison, ranges are in nautical miles. In spite of a reference in the table regarding the former, that with maximum load, the range can be decreased by up to 25 percent,<sup>12</sup> the same numerical values are used for some of the weapons systems in the TNF comparison, but given in nautical miles, i.e., ranges exceeding the previously mentioned maximal ranges by 15 percent. Other weapons systems show range data which are only 34 percent of the previously given maximal range of the same system, without any explanation being given.

It is unfortunate that these discrepancies and errors cause doubt of the validity of other data in this until now internationally acclaimed IISS annual report.

#### The Strategic Potential

The size of the United States' strategic missile potential has remained constant since 1967 with 1,054 ICBM<sup>13</sup> and 656 SLBM.<sup>14,15</sup> Since the 1975 exclusion of the last Minuteman I, the ICBM potential has been unchanged and consists of 450 Minuteman II, 550 Minuteman III and 56 Titan II.<sup>16</sup> The SLBM potential with 496 Poseidon C3 and 160 Polaris A3 has been unchanged since 1976.<sup>17</sup>

The qualitative improvements of the Minuteman III through stronger and more accurately aimed warheads will improve the American potential for engaging hard targets such as rocket silos considerably. Improvements in the American SLBM and the beginning replacements of Poseidon C3 with Trident C4 are also in line with this. The number of American warheads may temporarily decline, because each Trident C4 carries only 8 MIRV<sup>18</sup> as opposed to the 10 to 14 MIRV carried by the Poseidon C3, but the C4 has almost twice the range, greater accuracy and double the detonation power per warhead.

The bombers (B-52 and FB-111) of the strategic air force command of the United States have increased by 16 stored B-52 to a total of 573.<sup>19</sup> The number of SRAM<sup>20</sup> has decreased by 230 since last year to a total of 1,020 because of the planned changer-over to ALCM.<sup>21</sup>

Other developments, which will influence the strategic balance of forces include the development of the mobile MX-ICBM, the Trident D5-SLBM with enlarged range and 14 MIRV or rather MARV<sup>22</sup> each, which, together with the Navstar satellite system, could lead to very great accuracy of aim.

The Stockholm Peace Research Institute SIPRI sees in these and similar developments the danger that one side--whereby the United States is the leader--reaches a first strike capability which would destabilize the deterrence balance; SIPRI does not mean by First Strike Capability the capacity for total destruction of the enemy retaliation potential, but rather that enough of it could be destroyed so that a retaliatory strike would "only" cause casualties and damages which would be "acceptable" in relationship to the desired political goal.<sup>23</sup>

According to IISS, the United States has at its disposal at this time a total of 2,142<sup>24</sup> strategic nuclear carriers (ICBM, SLBM, B-52 and FB-111A) with a total of approximately 11,000 warheads. These figures agree more or less with those of SIPRI, which mentions 2,058 American strategic nuclear carriers (excluding the 66 FB-111) and approximately 9,200 warheads.<sup>25</sup> The Federal Defense Ministry also lists the same number of warheads.<sup>26</sup>

It is also strange that the IISS counts the FB-111 in description and evaluation under American strategic potential as well as under the column of strategic nuclear forces, although this weapons system does not fall under the definition of heavy bomber according to the SALT II treaty.<sup>27</sup> In the description and evaluation of Soviet potential, on the other hand, the Tu-22M Backfire B is not counted with an express reference to SALT II.

#### The Soviet Union

The modernization of the Soviet rocket potential is impressive. At present, the Soviet Union has at its disposal a total of 950 strategic SLBM in accordance with SALT II criteria<sup>29</sup> and 1,398 ICBM: in recent years the number of ICBM has decreased in favor of the SLBM.

After 217 antiquated ICBM had been replaced in 1978 with 20 SS-17, 60 SS-18 and 60 SS-19,<sup>30</sup> 230 new ICBM were put in service last year: 40 SS-17, 90 SS-18 and 100 SS-19.

The number of strategic long-range bombers of the Soviet long-range flying forces is increased this year by 21 and amounts to a total of 156. In spite of an annual production rate of 25 quoted by the IISS, the number of the disputed Tu-22M Backfire bombers, which are not directly included in SALT II, has not increased last year according to the figure quoted in the country section of the report.

Regardless of the tendency to higher numbers in deployable nuclear warheads, the number of strategic nuclear carriers in the United States has been reduced in the past ten years as far as bombers are concerned, although the number of ICBM and SLBM has remained constant. In the Soviet Union the number of bombers has also been reduced in the same time span, but last year higher numbers have been reported, so that they now exceed the 1969 comparison figures,



In 1971, the Soviet Union surpassed the United States in the number of strategic rockets (ICBM and SLBM), in 1972 in the total number of strategic nuclear carriers. At present, the Soviet Union, according to Salt II criteria, has at its disposal more than 2,504 strategic nuclear carriers; this means that at the time this treaty is ratified in 1982, more than 250 carriers would have to be taken out of service, which would surely be accomplished by deactivating older systems. In spite of its numerical superiority as far as carriers is concerned, the Soviet Union is at a disadvantage as far as the number of warheads is concerned; at this time it has "only" approximately 5,000, i.e., 500 more than last year. Even SIPRI and the 1979 White Book cite these figures.<sup>32</sup>

In the early 1980's, the Soviets will probably get closer to catching up as far as MIRV is concerned and, according to IISS, will then have approximately 7,500 warheads; Soviet warheads, while increasing their accuracy, have greater detonation power than American warheads.

When comparing potentials--this applies especially to the strategic nuclear potential, but also to the entire offensive air war potential--one may not judge equality or superiority alone by the number of carriers or warheads. One essential factor, which cannot be dealt with here for obvious reasons, is the number of targets to be engaged on the other side. But this in turn depends, among other things, on the strategic plans, e.g., whether a counter-force strategy, a counter resources strategy or a counter city strategy is pursued. But it can be assumed independent of that, that both sides have at present a certain overkill capacity, i.e., are capable of inflicting on the enemy far more damage than is necessary to paralyze the enemy.

#### General Strike Forces

The IISS's evaluation of American strike forces is essentially the same as last year. The size of the United States forces has decreased by almost 47,000 soldiers, whereby it must be noted that the number of female soldiers has increased by almost 20,000. The size of the United States army in Europe, 95 percent of which is stationed in the FRG, has increased by 4,800 soldiers according to the IISS.

In the American Air Force, barely 15 percent of the tanks were replaced with newer models, with the total number remaining constant; the introduction of the first XM-1 tanks was supposed to take place in 1979. Reinforcements are reported for the artillery for last year.

The United States Navy shows the consequences of the efforts to reverse the downward trend in the number of ships available. Five attack submarines, one missile cruiser and five destroyers are newly listed. The total number of American planes has remained approximately the same, but the changeover to the F-14, F-15 and F-16 types is noteworthy.

The conventional strength of the United States Air Force should have increased through the reported stationing of more than 100 A-10 planes; however, an



identical number of F-4 Phantoms (also capable of nuclear deployment) was deducted and apparently given to the Air National Guard, i.e., to reserve units.

According to IISS, the size of Soviet strike forces has increased last year by 20,000, and reached a total of 3,658,000 soldiers; this increase applies to the Soviet air force alone (without home air defense), whereby the introduction of complex third generation weapons systems requires additional personnel in spite of a reduction in the total number of planes. These planes have a wide action radius and better avionics than their predecessors and can also carry more arms on board. The air threat for Western Europe is thus increased.

Soviet ground forces also continue their modernization by changing over to newer tanks (T-64, T-72). The total number of Soviet tanks is still reported at 50,000. Whereby the IISS points out for the first time that a significant number of them are antiquated and are merely held in reserve. It seems significant that the number of large Soviet units has been increased by an additional four divisions to a total of 173 divisions (47 tank, 118 mechanized infantry, 8 airborne divisions). Of these four additional divisions, one tank division and one mechanized infantry division have been moved to the Soviet Union's Western military regions, which increases the threat to Europe. The other two divisions are located at the China border.

Although Soviet divisions have up to 40 percent fewer men than do Western divisions, they have as many or more combat tanks, among other things. It is to be noted that, although there is a slight decrease in the total number of helicopters, the number of Mi-24 combat helicopters has, according to IISS, almost doubled to 580. In addition, new antitank and antiaircraft rockets have been added to the arsenal.

The IISS notes for the first time this year that replacement of a very considerable number of ships is overdue and that these ships could only be deployed in coastal waters. Strangely enough, no such remarks were contained in the special chapter about comparison of maritime forces in the IISS's last annual report.<sup>33</sup> According to IISS, the Soviet fleet building program emphasizes at present the amphibious potential, aircraft carriers and attack submarines. For the past year they report a strengthening of the Red Fleet by five attack submarines and 32 larger surface units, of which one is a Kiev-type carrier and 29 are missile frigates. Apparently, special value is placed on improvement of air defense capabilities and defense against ships over great distances. Various cruise ships and destroyers to be used against submarines as well as missile PT boats are under construction. It is also reported that a nuclear powered cruise ship of more than 20,000 tons is being equipped in the Baltic Sea.

## Other Countries of the WP and of NATO

If one disregards the obligations of the individual countries, especially of the United States and the Soviet Union, outside of the two-part systems NATO and WP, then the size of the regular strike forces of both is almost equal; the NATO countries have approximately 2.5 percent more soldiers than the WP countries, 4.88 million versus 4.76 million. The weight of the non-Soviet WP countries (NSWP) and of the non-American NATO countries is however very different in the respective alliances. The latter have almost 60 percent (2.86 million) of the total number of soldiers, the NSWP countries only approximately 23 percent (1.1 million).

### Warsaw Pact (Without Soviet Union)

The total size of the NSWP strike forces has increased by 11,000 soldiers last year, according to IISS. It is interesting that this reported increase, as well as personnel reorganizations, have generally benefited the respective air forces. Simultaneously, the number of fighter planes is reported to have decreased (except in the GDR and in Hungary). One might suspect that this, too, has been caused by the difficulties connected with learning to control ever more complex weapons systems. No specific changes have occurred in the NSWP ground forces, but, according to IISS, Czechoslovakia has increased its number of APC's considerably, and an increase in tanks is also reported for Hungary. On the other hand, a reduced number of tanks from the previous year is reported for Bulgaria, Poland and Romania.

The navies of the NSWP countries have a very subordinate significance compared to the Soviet Union's Red Fleet.

### NATO (Without the United States)

The IISS reports an increase of 85,200 soldiers over the previous year for the strike forces of the non-American NATO countries. These changes are the result of a "reinforcement" of the British (+9,600), Danish (+700), French (+3,000), Dutch (+3,100)<sup>35</sup> and especially the Turkish (+81,000) forces, while Belgium (-300), Greece (-5,500) and Portugal (-3,000) are said to have reduced the size of their forces. It is notable that, except for the French forces, the proportion of draftees is said to have decreased; this would mean an increase in quality, since the modern complex weapons systems increasingly require a longer time of service for the soldiers. This problem is not as acute for the WP, since the basic tour of duty there lasts longer than it does in NATO countries.

In the reported changes in the size of NATO forces, the air force generally experienced a greater increase in size than did the other individual armed forces; the air force was not affected by reductions in individual countries; on the contrary, for Belgium, a larger air force is reported in spite of general reductions. Only Turkey, Great Britain and France do not follow this trend. Turkey, according to IISS, has improved its ground forces

exclusively; for years they had reported understaffing for half of their large-sized units. Great Britain, as a traditional maritime power, strengthened its Royal Navy relatively more than the Royal Air Force, and France, in apparent pursuit of its national strategic plans, strengthened its navy and air force equally.

Equipment of NATO forces does not show any dramatic developments in contrast to last year; only for Turkey, a 25-percent increase in the number of tanks, to 3,500, and a 15-percent increase in the number of planes, to 303, is reported. This may have been caused by the end of the United States arms embargo which, however, may not as yet have been fully overcome regarding its effect on the technical combat readiness of the Turkish strike forces.

#### Tables and Analyses of the IISS Report

In addition to the country chapter and the alliance chapter, the tables and analyses make up the second essential part of the IISS annual report. It is not our intent to reproduce their content or to analyze it in detail. An effort is made instead to point out some essential aspects which might be of significance when judging the balance of forces, i.e., which might help judge IISS statements.

#### Nuclear Carrier Systems

The WP, i.e., the Soviet Union, has at its disposal a far greater variety of nuclear carrier systems, which are often also newer than those of the United States, Great Britain or France. The latest American ICBM, the Minuteman III, was in use as early as 1970, the most recent SSBN, Poseidon C1, in 1979; since that time, the Soviet Union has introduced three new types of ICBM (SS-17, SS-18, SS-19), amounting to a total number of 600, as well as three types of SSBN (SS-N-6, SS-N-17, SS-N-18), of which the SS-N-6 in turn is already being replaced. According to IISS, the ICBM SS-18 could be positioned immediately even without SALT II. The United States, on the other hand, still has a technological advantage in MIRV technology, which was not introduced in the Soviet Union until 5 years after it was introduced in the United States. The generally greater detonation power of Soviet rocket warheads may be the result of the fact that Soviet rockets formerly had less accuracy than American rockets, and that this disadvantage had to be compensated for by a greater force of destruction. This technological drawback seems to have been corrected at least in part with the introduction of the Soviet ICBM. Only 18 French S4RS S-2 compete on the Western side with the Soviet intermediate-range rocket potential of more than 700. Also, the WP has more than four times as many (1,600) short range rockets (SRBM)<sup>26</sup> as the NATO.

As far as the long-range bombers are concerned, the United States has continued to maintain its traditional quantitative advantage, while the Soviet Union is superior in intermediate-range bombers, whereby the introduction of the Tu-22M Backfire B signifies a jump in quality.

Different emphasis placed on long vs. intermediate range bombers probably depends on the geostrategic conditions and targets of both superpowers. But it must be pointed out in this connection that the United States Air Force's B-52 has been in service for more than 20 years, while the Soviet Backfire potential has only been built up in recent years. An analysis of the 1185 data regarding fighter bombers as nuclear carriers is hardly possible here, since certain types of fighter bombers are quite capable of serving as nuclear carriers because of their general design, but don't necessarily have to have the additional equipment necessary for nuclear deployment. And even if they had it, this would not mean that they must be given a nuclear role in combat.

The 1185's figure of 3,300 Soviet strike planes--2,500 more than in last year's report--is unclear, although identical reporting dates are given for both figures. And, one type (Su-7 Fitter A) named in one of the tables in the report's country section is no longer part of the Soviet inventory, another type (MiG-21, Fishbed J/K/L) only in reduced numbers.

### Size of Strike Forces

The 1185's long-range consideration (1958-1979) of the size of strike forces of the United States, Soviet Union, France, Great Britain and the FRG presents the following picture:

Until 1965, the United States had between 2.5 and 2.8 million soldiers in active service; this number increased in connection with the Vietnam war until 1968 to 3.5 million, and has decreased since then to approximately 2 million.

The Soviet Union reduced its strike force from 4 million in 1958 to 3.15 million in 1965; since then, the number has increased to almost 3.7 million at present.

France reduced its strike force step by step from almost 800,000 soldiers in 1968--obviously as consequence of the gradual retreat from Algeria--to 500,000 in 1966; since then it has been fluctuating between 500,000 and 510,000.

The size of the British strike force has declined steadily from 615,000 (1958) to 313,000 in 1978; now, for the first time, an increase by approximately 10,000 has been reported.

The figures for the FRG during the same time span reflect the continuous growth of the Bundeswehr from 175,000 soldiers in 1968 to 495,000.

If one looks at the total numbers in strike forces of NATO and WP countries over the last five years, it must be noted that NATO countries showed a decrease in personnel by barely 4 percent (190,000 soldiers) to almost 4.9 million, while in WP countries it has risen by barely 3 percent (124,000) to over 4.7 million.



It is also noteworthy that in the WP states the percentage of draft age (18-45) males actually serving is in general considerably higher than it is in the NATO countries. On the other hand, such data lose their significance more and more considering the increasing number of female soldiers (in the United States already almost 7 percent).

## Defense Spending

The degree of defense effort of individual nations can be measured in their defense spending in different ways, whereby international comparisons can present problems, especially considering the fundamentally different economic systems in East and West, but also when economic systems are similar, e.g., based on different personnel costs.

Also, the data are in part not confirmed. For example, while the IISS assumes, based on estimates and calculations by the American CIA and other orientists, that the Soviet Union spent 11-14 percent of its gross national product, i.e., 116-154 billion in United States dollars (in 1978) for defense, SIPRI gives a considerably lower sum of approximately 70 billion dollars or approximately 8 percent of the gross national product. However, SIPRI blames the Soviet Union's secrecy for the (according to SIPRI) exaggerated figures about Soviet defense spending which are spread in the West.<sup>37</sup>

If one relates defense expenditures to the population figures, i.e., the gross national product, then one gets the picture shown in Table 1 for recent years, according to IISS. It seems significant that in spite of generally higher defense expenditures per inhabitant in the NATO countries, there is a strong tendency toward spending a smaller percentage of the gross national product for defense, while in the WP countries this percentage has generally remained constant or has risen.

Table 1: Defense Spending in the WP and the NATO

	US Dollar per Inhabitant				Percent of Gross Nat'l Product			
	1974	1977	1978	1979	1974	1977	1978	1979
<b>Western Europe</b>								
Belgium	50	48	48	9	2.7	2.4	2.5	2
Canada	121	140	132	130	2.8	3.3	3.1	2.9
France	138	241	252	268	2.5	5.7	5.8	5.8
Germany	52	80	80	80	3.1	5.0	5.0	5.0
Italy	35	52	52	57	1.7	2.7	2.7	2.7
Netherlands	492	528	524	9	11-12	11-12	11-12	11-12
United Kingdom	52	87	74	9	2.4	3.5	2.4	2.4
<b>Western Europe</b>								
Belgium	204	240	210	200	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.0
France	108	213	208	200	2.7	5.5	5.5	5.4%
SP. Netherlands	242	274	267	260	1.7	2.5	2.5	2.4
Germany	211	224	200	240	3.0	3.7	3.7	3.4
Italy	130	119	102	9	2.5	2.0	2.0	2.0
United Kingdom	140	210	212	214	2.3	3.7	3.0	2.7
Spain	52	80	100	104	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.4
Sweden	147	115	112	137	2.2	1.8	1.8	1.8
Denmark	82	80	100	114	1.3	1.8	1.8	1.7%
Norway	201	203	200	224	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
Portugal	213	240	222	247	2.1	2.2	2.1%	2.1%
Finland	80	48	52	60	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0%
Ireland	70	100	117	130	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
<b>USA</b>	427	420	421	520	2.8	2.4	2.2	2.0

KEY:	1. Bulgaria	11. France
	2. Czechoslovakia	12. Greece
	3. GDR	13. Great Britain
	4. Poland	14. Italy
	5. Romania	15. Canada
	6. USSR	16. Luxembourg
	7. Hungary	17. Netherlands
	8. Belgium	18. Norway
	9. Denmark	19. Portugal
	10. FRG	20. Turkey

Let us take a quick look at the real growth of defense spending by the NATO countries, which has recently been the subject of many discussions. It has increased almost every year. But if looked at on a constant price basis (1970 = 100), and if one takes the general inflation rates into consideration, which are not necessarily identical with the inflation rates in the defense sector, the result, according to 1988 data, presents a very different picture for the individual NATO members, even with some negative growth rates (Table 2).

Table 2: Actual Growth Rates in Defense Spending  
(Price Basis 1970 = 100)

		Percent of Annual Growth Rates	
		1980-89	1971-79
NATO	Belgium	33	4.75
	Denmark	34	18
	FRG	18	2.91
	France	18	2.17
	Great Britain	25	5.48
	Netherlands	9	1.87
	Norway	41	3.28
	Portugal	-25	2.72
	Turkey	21	2.28
	Canada	43	3.28
	Luxembourg	14	2.28
	Italy	24	-6.01
	Greece	19	12
	GDR	27	-1.28

KEY:	1. Belgium	8. Canada
	2. Denmark	9. Luxembourg
	3. FRG	10. Netherlands
	4. France	11. Norway
	5. Greece	12. Portugal
	6. Great Britain	13. Turkey
	7. Italy	



## Helicopters

Of the other tables contained in the 1188 report, we shall deal here only with the properties of military helicopters. A distinct change has taken place in recent years regarding the military use of helicopters. Of the 40 types of helicopters named by 1188 which were in service before 1970, only one half was armed, and this equipment was in part only protective equipment. Since then, the helicopter has increasingly gained in significance as an independent weapon in its own right. This can be seen from, among other things, the fact that of the 30 types of military helicopters placed in service since 1970 or under development now, only five are unarmed; the equipment of the others serves no longer predominantly self-protection, but helicopters are deployed as versatile weapons platforms.

## The Comparison of Forces in Europe

The 1188's comparison of forces in Europe follows in its text almost word for word the previous report. This calls even more attention to the individual changes in the text, especially since different parameters from those of last year--without any special justification--form the basis for the tables of this chapter, i.e., figures deviate in part considerably from those of earlier reports without any explanation being given for this. These changes cause the capabilities and the superiority of the WP to appear in a more or less colder light.

In the comparison of forces in last year's report, the forces which are available for deployment during peacetime included all NATO ground forces stationed in Europe including in Berlin, with the exception of the French troops and troops stationed in Portugal or in Great Britain. Included on the WP side were all troops of the NSWP nations, the Soviet troops in the NSWP nations, as well as those Soviet troops of the first and second category<sup>39</sup> in the Western military regions of the Soviet Union of which it is assumed that they are to be used for deployment either against AFNORTH<sup>40</sup> and APCENT<sup>41</sup> or against AFSOUTH.<sup>42</sup>

In this year's report, under the heading "Ground Forces Usable Without Mobilization," the parameters for NATO have remained essentially identical, aside from the fact that the few troops stationed in Berlin are not included in the comparison. New criteria are introduced for the WP, however, by counting only the NSWP divisions of the first category<sup>43</sup> and the Soviet divisions in these Eastern European nations, but especially by not counting the forces in the Soviet Union's Western military regions. These changed parameters have the effect that in this year's comparison by the 1188, the unchanged 27 NATO divisions of AFNORTH and APCENT no longer face 70 WP divisions, but only 47, whereby the percentage of Soviet divisions has been reduced by 18 down to 27.

For the Southern European area, 37 divisions are unchanged on the NATO side, while for the WP only 21 divisions of the first category instead of

the previous 11 divisions are listed. This comparison leads to a further false impression through the IISS's introductory remark that for the large sized units a nearly complete peacetime personnel strength can be assumed. In the country section of the report it is, e.g. noted, that one half of the 22 Turkish divisions (3 brigades = 1 division) is understaffed. Even if the IISS includes five fewer divisions on the NATO side than the sum of the large sized units listed in the country section at the AFSOUTH comparison of forces, the fact remains that some of these units, because of their small size, cannot fall under the heading "Ground Forces Usable Without Mobilization."

On the contrary, it would be more appropriate to include also divisions of the second and third category on the WP side, especially with the Soviet forces. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has shown that such divisions can be made ready for deployment almost instantly, and therefore belong to a potential immediately available for attack in Europe. In addition, the IISS's method of counting--especially not counting the Soviet forces in the Western military regions of the Soviet Union--is in contradiction to the methods generally used by recognized comparative studies. A false picture results especially because no mention is made that especially the European NATO countries have few reserves and timely American reinforcement in Europe could be difficult for geographical reasons. But the WP forces not included in the comparison could be brought to the scene of action far easier. For that reason, the exclusion of the forces in the Soviet Union's Western military regions is simply in contradiction to the operative facts.

And finally, putting AFSOUTH and AFGENT together does not seem justified from an operative point of view.

A further deviation from the past in this year's IISS comparison of forces is that combat units are no longer compared in numerical strength. Certainly such a static comparison of numbers in itself does present problems, but within the context of a total evaluation it was significant that in Middle and Northern Europe, 676,000 NATO soldiers faced 943,000 WP soldiers, of which 638,000, i.e., more than all of the NATO force, are Soviet.<sup>44</sup> This year's IISS report gives the appearance as if it questions a crucial point of the past negotiating position of MBFR, i.e., the discussion of data and the demand for parity.

When comparing possibilities for reinforcements of the present forces, there are also discrepancies as opposed to last year's report, which cannot be cleared up because there are no explanations to the data basis and the parameters. The number of possible WP reinforcement divisions in last year's report was 157, in this report it is only 115. Also, the combat preparedness of these reinforcements has sunk considerably. Actually, one should have expected that the total number of reinforcement units would have risen by this report's newly introduced parameters, with the troops available without mobilization.

In the NATO reinforcements, the tables reflect an increase by 8 2/3 divisions to a total of 32 2/3 divisions. No mention is made of the fact that some of these units, for geographical reasons, would require some time before reaching the scene of action.

This impression of a reduced threat to NATO becomes even stronger through the new formulations of a text otherwise verbatim identical to that of last year's report. As before, the difficulties the United States has with reinforcements are mentioned; but these difficulties are made to appear in a different light with the remark that measures are undertaken to improve reaction capabilities, among them the storage of supplies in Europe and better utilization of air transport. On the other hand, the fact that the lack of sufficient traffic routes in the Soviet Union makes a concentration of reserves rather difficult is expounded further with the statement that this precludes a quick moving of divisions out of the Eastern Soviet Union. Reference is also made to the switch in railroad track systems at the Polish-Soviet border which was and is, of course, a considerable obstacle, because the Soviet Union has made great efforts in recent years to alleviate this problem.

As the IISS notes, the Soviet Union requires air transport for its reinforcements. The Soviet Union has developed considerable capacities in this area, which it proves constantly with the personnel exchange of its troops in Eastern Europe twice a year, and, at the present time, in Afghanistan.

When comparing the number of tanks as the main weapons system of the ground forces, the numbers have hardly changed since last year. But even here, there is inconsistency. If the number of available divisions on the WP side would really have been reduced as reported, then the number of tanks would have had to be reduced correspondingly. The number of 600 fewer tanks, however, corresponds only to approximately two WP divisions. The fact is that the WP continues to have three times as many tanks, which is the basic formula necessary to enable one to attack.

As far as conventional artillery is concerned, the IISS has for years listed for the NATO side 2,700 guns, mortars and rocket launchers in Middle and Northern Europe, as well as 3,500 in Southern Europe. On the WP side, the number for Middle and Northern Europe was 3,600 until 1976 and 2,700 for Southern Europe.<sup>45</sup> Since 1977, these figures have increased to 10,000 and 4,000, respectively.<sup>46</sup> According to IISS, 2,350 NATO fighter planes (25 less than last year) face 4,200 WP planes (145 more than last year). For Southern Europe, 950 NATO planes (+12) and 1,595 WP planes (-50) are listed.

If one compares the light attack planes (light bombers, fighter bombers and reconnaissance planes) for Middle and Northern Europe with the corresponding fighter bombers, one arrives at the conclusion that 1,960 NATO attack planes face 2,050 WP fighter bombers, whereas the 2,150 WP attack planes

face only 400 NATO fighter bombers. The IISS deals with this NATO multi-purpose plane as well as with the qualitative improvements of the WP planes in the text of its report. But nevertheless, the statement that the Soviet Union produces multipurpose planes to replace the large number of planes used at present solely for air defense, gives the wrong impression. Of the more than 2,000 WP air defense planes in our area, approximately 60 percent have been for years so-called tactical fighter bombers with the additional capacity for air attack; their deployment in their secondary capacity is very probable, based on the massive modernization and building up of the ground-based air defense system of the WP.<sup>47</sup>

With the WP air forces' progressive rearmament to fighter bombers of the improved second and third generation, NATO increasingly can no longer depend on its qualitative superiority compensating for its quantitative inferiority.

#### Consequences for Europe

The conclusion, which the IISS draws from the European comparison of forces, has remained unchanged for years; We basically concur with it:

The balance of forces makes military aggression appear undesirable. The strength and quality of NATO defense are such, that any attempt to destroy it would require a major attack. This would mean that the risk of nuclear escalation could not be calculated by the attacker. Also, Europe must not be seen in isolation; the strategic and maritime balance of forces plays a considerable role.

The NATO has until now depended on its superior equipment and training; it is now losing this advantage over the WP. The new technology helps in defense, to be sure, but it is getting more and more expensive. If Western defense spending is not increased but, on the other hand, personnel costs continue to rise, the WP will ultimately be in a position to obtain a larger number of new weapons systems than the NATO. Soviet military expenditures have grown for years. In addition, improved technology cannot fully compensate for numerical disadvantages.

While one can say that today we have a certain balance, the WP seems to be more satisfied with the conventional balance of forces than is NATO, which is attempting to achieve parity in personnel strength by way of MBFR, while the WP wants to maintain the existing balance.

#### Theater Nuclear Forces (TNF) in Europe

##### The Reported Parity

In recent years, the IISS has included the TNF differently in its evaluation of the European balance of forces; this is the first report to contain a quantitative analysis. The IISS reaches the conclusion that there is near parity between the NATO's and the WP's TNF.



However, this "parity" is arrived at only because IISS includes 400 Poseidon warheads belonging to the strategic potential of the United States on the Western side, while it excludes the central strategic systems of the Soviet Union. The IISS emphasizes that this near parity would be upset by modernizations; already now the more than 100 SS-20 medium range rockets make up 17 percent of the calculated Eastern TNF capacity. According to IISS, exclusion of the 590 SS-4 and SS-5 medium range rockets would be compensated for by the introduction of 140 SS-20; any additional SS-20 would destroy the equilibrium.

The IISS, pointing out the subjective nature of the analysis, emphasized its conviction that the accuracy of the results could be questioned only if the numbers and parameters forming the basis had to be changed considerably. It is said in addition that the introduction of newer and more effective weapons systems by the Soviets would change the balance of forces in such a way that it would legitimize a NATO reaction. Finally, the strict, centralized WP control is considered to be an essential WP advantage as opposed to the diverging political opinions in the NATO.

#### Criticism

We do not wish to repeat the entire IISS argument, but rather make references to data, parameters, assumptions and methodical steps which form the basis for doubts of the accuracy of calculations. Also, errors and ambiguities mentioned above will not be repeated here.

The first general assumption, which the IISS itself calls hypothetical, must distort the total picture: weapons systems having a range of less than 100 miles are not included in the examination. Not counted on the Western side are thus, in addition to the conventional nuclear artillery and without regard to the respective positioning, 213 Pluton, Lance and Honest John ground-to-ground rocket systems, and on the Eastern side an estimated 1,000 plus SS-1b Scud A, Frog 3-7 and SS-21 ground-to-ground rocket systems. The IISS justifies its assumption (upset by a "European deployment" of 400 Poseidon warheads on the Western side), that all weapons systems classified as strategic under SALT II criteria are not aimed at European targets, with the argument that a nuclear conflict in Europe would clearly differ from a nuclear exchange between the two superpowers; in the beginning phase, neither side would be inclined to deploy its intercontinental systems in order to influence a conflict so far limited to Europe only.

This assumption is arguable in several respects. For one, instead of the prevailing deterrence theory of NATO, it presumes aggressive thinking in the sense that war in Europe is "feasible." Secondly, it questions a strategic principle of NATO, namely that NATO's reaction and the risk, which the aggressor takes, should not be able to be calculated. Finally, this line of thinking questions whether the United States will honor its commitments to its allies and its guarantees of strategic protection, and assumes the dissolution of the NATO triad of strategic and tactical nuclear potential

as well as conventional strike forces, which forms the basis of the NATO's deterrence system.

The fact that the IISS does not mention warhead strengths can hardly be justified; in spite of considering parameters of other weapons systems, the effect which a SS-3 warhead of 1 MT has must be evaluated differently from the effect of a warhead whose detonation value is within the KT range.

The IISS avoids the uncertainty regarding the number of warheads and rockets with which the individual weapons systems, i.e., launch installations are equipped, by simply neglecting to mention Sortie rates<sup>48</sup> and reloading capacities of the weapons systems. However, counting the dual reloading capacity of the SS-20 alone would already increase the "system use number" of the entire Eastern TNF by almost 35 percent!

In general it can only be said that particular assumptions had to be made arbitrarily. But regarding the percentage of fighter bombers in the nuclear potential, it must be said that it, at least on the NATO side, is not true to the facts. In addition, the IISS uses the wrong basis for its data on the Phantom F-4 and F-104 Starfighters; as far as the IISS is concerned, all F-104 planes have nuclear capacities, which is not true for the F-104 of the German air force. Also, the German F-4F is apparently considered to have nuclear capabilities, which is not true.

Also, the exclusion of certain naval and naval flying forces can be questioned. But it seems especially peculiar that the aging British Vulcan bomber potential is said to have twice the effect in the TNF that the modern Soviet Backfire Bomber has.

Seen as a whole, the foundation of the IISS evaluation already shows errors, so that the inventory of 5,164 systems of TNF carriers for the WP and 2,045 for NATO must be doubted. Based on partially wrong assumptions, the number of deployable WP warheads (2,244) comes thus very close to that of NATO (1,811). These values are then multiplied by factors for survivability, penetration power and flexibility. As the IISS admits, determination of these factors is based on very subjective criteria.

Thus, the IISS arrives at the so-called "system use number" of 1,209 for the WP and 1,045 for NATO. The IISS then uses the remark, that the calculation, because of the many variables involved, is likely to have a margin of error of at least +10 percent, as the basis for stating that there is a near parity between the NATO's and the WP's TNF.

It must be pointed out that it is important to make an analysis of the TNF potential based on verifiable data. The difficulty of doing this solely with data from open sources must also be recognized. Considering the security-political importance and the urgency of this project, one should have expected greater care, especially since the IISS is considered to be an authority in these matters.



## Conclusion

The value of comparison of forces studies depends essentially on the accuracy of the data basis and on objective methodology. Also of great importance is the correct consideration of strategic doctrines and concepts of the respective sides. Especially any deviation from this basis can mislead the reader, unless the analysis has the declared intention to examine, e.g., the effectiveness of new strategic options.

This analysis of the IISS annual report has noted various errors, ambiguities and discrepancies, especially in the general and nuclear comparison of forces in Europe. It makes one wonder, when in places the impression is given that the military capabilities of the WP are not as great as is often assumed, or that they are even being reduced in part. Certainly no intention of military aggression against the NATO in Europe must be imputed to the WP at present or even in the foreseeable future. But history has shown that overestimating an enemy can be just as fatal as underestimating his military potential.

In spite of the doubts raised here, it must be noted that this year also, "The Military Balance" of the IISS is the essential open compendium about the military potentials in the world. SIPRI cannot take over this task with its yearbook, because it is oriented more toward the problems associated with worldwide armament as well as disarmament and arms control. It is therefore desirable that future volumes of "Military Balance" be written with greater care in order to maintain the reputation and value of this source.

## Footnotes

1. "The Military Balance 1979-1980," published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. London 1979, p 6.
2. Ibid., p 10.
3. Ibid., p 10f.
4. Ibid., p VII.
5. Ibid., p 9.
6. "The Military Balance," 1978-1979, p 13ff.
7. Ibid., p 23.
8. Ibid., p 24.
9. The statute mile is 1,60931 km long and the nautical mile is 1,852 km long, i.e., they differ by 15 percent.

10. "The Military Balance," p 86ff.
11. Ibid., p 118f.
12. Ibid., p 90, Footnote b.
13. ICBM--Intercontinental Ballistic Missile with ranges of more than 6,400 km.
14. Submarine-launched Ballistic Missile.
15. "The Military Balance 1975-1976," also 1975 p 73.
16. Ibid., p 3.
17. "The Military Balance 1976-1977," also 1976, p 3.
18. MIRV--Multiple Independently-targetable Re-entry Vehicles.
19. Comparing this year's number of bombers with past IISS reports creates the wrong impression of an increase by approximately 140 bombers, i.e., 25 percent, since this year for the first time the stored B-52 bombers, i.e., those held in reserve, are included in the total number of bombers. The Federal government's White Book 1979 (p 100) also has the number 573, but exclusively for the B-52 bombers, without mentioning the FB-111 medium range bombers of the Strategic Air Force Command of the United States.
20. SRAM--Short-Range Attack Missile with a warhead of 1 KT and a maximum range of 240 km.
21. ALCM--Air-launched Cruise Missile.
22. MARV--Maneuverable Re-entry Vehicle.
23. World Armaments and Disarmament--SIPRI Yearbook 1979, published by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, London 1979, p 13 f, 389, 416, 427 ff.
24. The sum of 2,142 has obviously been taken blindly from the last report, in which the reserve, i.e., stored B-52 were not counted. Using the identical criteria for counting, there should only be 2,141 carriers this year, since this year, the number of B-52G/H bombers in active service is listed as 240 instead of 241.
25. SIPRI Yearbook 1979, also p 422 ff.
26. White Book 1979 for the security of the FRG and the development of the Federal army, published by the Federal defense minister, Bonn 1979, p 102.

27. Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, Art. 11.3.
28. "The Military Balance," pp 4 and 9.
29. Additional 78 SLBM of the SS-N-4 Sark and SS-N-5 Serb type not subject to SALT II are on a total of 26 submarines.
30. "The Military Balance 1976-1977," also 1976, p 8 and 1977-1978, also 1977, p 8.
31. IRBM--Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile with ranges of 2,400-6,400 km.
32. SIPRI Yearbook 1979, also 422 ff and White Book 1979, p 102.
33. "The Military Balance 1978-1979," also 1978, p 114 ff.
34. The apparent growth of the Bundeswehr is possibly caused by the IISS using the desired figure for the peacetime army (495,000) as the actual total size of the Federal army. However, the IISS gives the strength of the individual armed forces below these desired figures, with the result that the sum of the individual armed forces including the central military services is less than the total number reported. (See also: White Book 1979, p 149 and p 218 f.)
35. The "increase" in Dutch strikes forces is probably caused by the fact that this year, as opposed to previous reports, 4,000 soldiers in the military police and central military service were included.
36. SRBM--Short-Range Ballistic Missile with a range of less than 800 km.
37. SIPRI Yearbook 1979, pp 28 ff and 37 ff.
38. Gross Domestic Product, GNP.
39. According to IISS, Soviet divisions are divided into 3 categories according to their combat preparedness: first category: 75-100 percent personnel strength, completely equipped; second category: 50-75 percent personnel strength, fully equipped with combat vehicles; third category: approximately 25 percent personnel strength, possibly fully equipped with combat vehicles, which may in part be antiquated. The 31 Soviet divisions in Eastern Europe belong to the first category, approximately half of the divisions stationed in the European part of the Soviet Union and in the Far East belong to the first or second category.
40. AFNORTH--Allied Forces Northern Europe (NATO Command area Northern Europe).

41. AFCENT--Allied Forces Central Europe (NATO Command area Central Europe).
42. AFSOUTH--Allied Forces Southern Europe (NATO-Command area Southern Europe).
43. According to IISB, the categorization of the NSWP divisions differs from that of the Soviet divisions (See Footnote 40): first category: up to 75 percent personnel strength. Second category: up to 50 percent personnel strength. Third category: little more than cadre.
44. "The Military Balance 1978-1979," also 1978, p 109.
45. "The Military Balance 1976-1977," 1976 p 101.
46. "The Military Balance 1977-1978," 1977 p 107.
47. Limberg, Gerhard: "Challenge--The Combat Strength of the Air Force Must Be Increased." In: Yearbook of the Air Force, Vol 12, Bonn-Duisdorf 1975, p 11 f.
48. Number of possible combat missions of one plane on one day.

9328

CSO: 7300

# FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ARRIVE FOR MAY DAY

## European Delegations Arrive

AD011147 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 1 May 80

[ATA headline: "Other Foreign Delegations Arrive in Albania"]

[Text] Tirana, May 1 (ATA)--Upon the invitation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Germany, headed by the president of this organization Tomas Shefer, the delegation of the Asambleista Workers' Association of Spain, headed by the member of the National Secretariat of this association Francisco Bodi, the revolutionary trade unionist from Portugal Jose Nasquita and the revolutionary trade unionist from France Daniel Charvy arrived in our country yesterday to attend May Day celebrations.

The delegations were welcomed at the airport by the secretary of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania Sotir Kocollari and other comrades.

## Rita Marko Receives Delegations

AD011155 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 1 May 80

[ATA headline: "Comrade Rita Marko received the Foreign Delegations Which Have Come to our Country To Attend May Day Celebrations"]

[Text] Tirana, May 1 (ATA)--Yesterday afternoon, the president of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania Rita Marko received the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Germany, headed by the president of the Asambleista Workers' association of Spain, headed by the member of the National Secretariat of this association Francisco Bodi, the delegation of the General Federation of the Trade Unions of Iraq, headed by the vice-president of the Trade Union Federation of Milan Districts, Abdul Kadhim Muhain, the delegation of the Canadian Workers' Association, headed by Robert Johnson, the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Denmark headed by Soren Becher, the revolutionary trade unionist from Portugal Jose Nasquita, the revolutionary trade unionist from France

Daniel Charvy and the trade unionist from Colombia Luis E. Parra, who upon the invitation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania have come to our country to attend May Day Celebrations.

Present at the reception, which proceeded in a warm and fraternal atmosphere, were the secretaries of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, advanced workers and other comrades.

CRG: 2020



## BRIEFS

CULTURAL PLAN WITH SWEDEN--A plan on cultural and scientific exchanges was signed in Stockholm on 20 April between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Kingdom of Sweden. Kristo Jorgji, deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture and Arts, signed the plan for Albania; Earen Lofdahl, director of the Swedish Institute, signed for Sweden. Present at the signing ceremony were the members of both delegations. Dhimiter Lamani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Kingdom of Sweden, was also present. On the occasion, Dhimiter Lamani hosted a reception attended by members of both delegations, high-ranking officials of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Sweden, renowned professors, representatives of cultural and scientific institutions, members of the Swedish-Albanian Friendship Society and others. [Text]  
[AU302105 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 20 Apr 80]

CSO: 2100

## DEFENSE MINISTER DEMUROV SPEAKS AT PRESS CONFERENCE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Apr 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Engineer Major Veselin Stoyanov: "Events of Vast Historic Significance--Press Conference on the Occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the Victory over Fascist Germany and the 25th Anniversary of the Signing of the Warsaw Pact"]

[Text] The flames of World War II raged for six long years. Humanity in its entire history had never before experienced such a bitter military conflict between the forces of extreme reaction and the forces of social progress. After the volleys of war died down, real possibilities existed for the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition to move even further along the path of concord and peaceful cooperation. But the ink on the text of Hitler Germany's declaration of defeat, signed in Berlin in 1945 by the representatives of the USSR, the United States, England and France, had not yet dried when the ruling circles of the Western powers set in train activity aimed at a breach of the Potsdam agreements and the rebirth of militarism and revanchisme and adopted a policy hostile towards the Soviet Union. In 1949 they took a step that cast an ominous shadow over the international situation: the main military and political grouping of the imperialist powers--NATO, the North Atlantic bloc, was created. After this, the ANZUS, SEATO and CENTO military alliances were created.

Under these conditions the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were compelled to take a number of serious measures to bolster their security. On 14 May 1955 the European socialist countries signed a collective allied treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, which has entered history as the Warsaw Pact. This act is of tremendous international significance. For a quarter of a century now it has borne witness to the unshakable foreign policy of the socialist countries aimed at the prevention of war, the preservation of peace and the assurance of the security of the nations.

On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany and the 25th anniversary of the creation of the Warsaw Pact a press

conference was held yesterday at the Central Palace of the People's Army for Bulgarian and foreign journalists. It was arranged by the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, and the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. The press conference was opened and conducted by the chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, Vasilin Yosifov.

The participants were Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee, and minister of national defense; Col Gen Valke Palin, chief of the Military Administrative Department of the BCP Central Committee; Col Gen Atanas Sumerdashiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army; deputy ministers of national defense, generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Present were the representative of the commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact participant states attached to the Bulgarian People's Army, Col Gen Khachik Asharyan, and the military attaches of the socialist countries accredited to our country.

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, spoke about the exceptionally great significance of the victory over fascist Germany and the signing of the Warsaw Pact for the recent history not only of Europe but also the entire world. He emphasized that it is not irrelevant, especially on the celebration of an anniversary, for us to recall a few things, all the more so since in the West everything possible is being done to present these events in a distorted light.

Flushed by their unhindered march across Europe, Hitler's headquarters counted on smashing the Soviet Army in a blitz attack and in a short time conquering vast territories and bringing the proud Soviet peoples to their knees.

Under the leadership of the CPSU, with the support and participation of the entire Soviet nation and with the assistance of the progressive people in the world, the Soviet Army in hard battles bled the enemy white, wrought a radical reversal in the course of the war, went over to a resolute offensive and won a great victory. The peoples of the Soviet Union and Soviet fighting men bore the brunt in World War II. In engagements with the enemy they demonstrated miracles of bravery, mass heroism, high moral and political qualities and unsurpassed combat expertise. In this war the USSR lost 20 million people. On Soviet soil the Hitlerites destroyed 1,710 cities and urban-type settlements, burned and annihilated more than 70,000 villages, 32,000 industrial enterprises and 1,876 state farms. The legendary Soviet Army smashed 307 Hitlerite divisions and 100 divisions of Germany's satellites, whereas on all other fronts the

Hitlerites lost 176 divisions, the bulk of which surrendered to the Anglo-Americans at the end of the war so as not to be taken Soviet prisoners.

This alone suffices, the Minister of National Defense Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov pointed out, to see how untenable are the efforts of the bourgeois historians who deliberately and intentionally falsify historical truth.

The peoples and armies of the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and, above all, the United States, England, France and Canada, played their part in winning the victory. The countries occupied by fascist Germany also made a worthy contribution.

The minister of national defense talked, further, about the real contribution of our people who, after Hitlerite Germany's treacherous attack on the USSR, took their stand at once without reservation, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, on the side of their big brother and followed the path of armed struggle for national and social liberation. And after the victory of the Ninth of September socialist revolution in 1944 our young People's Army joined in the war without delay and in its concluding phase took part in smashing Hitlerite fascism.

Fanatics of military adventures, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov said, must constantly be reminded of the lessons of World War II because their memory, it appears, is short and the experience of this war has taught them little.

The past 25 years have fully confirmed the necessity of establishing the Warsaw Pact Organization, the minister of national defense said. We can take note with the greatest satisfaction that the national armies of the member countries of this pact are completely modern socialist armies. They have everything they need to repel any aggressor. A central place in the fraternal family of socialist armies is held by the mighty and invincible Soviet Army, which is the principal pillar and main support of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact participant countries.

For the Bulgarian Communist Party, for Bulgarian communists, for our entire people, the participation of our country in the Warsaw Pact is completely natural and necessary. It stems from the country's interests, from the party's traditional internationalism, from the feeling of international duty.

The minister of national defense, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, recalled some of the most important results achieved due to the efforts of the Warsaw Pact participant countries. These include the treaty on the banning of experiments and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons; the treaties of Poland, the GDR and Czechoslovakia with the FRG; the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin; the "principles governing the relationships between the USSR and the United States," signed in Moscow in May 1972; the SALT-1 treaty; the Security and Cooperation Conference in Helsinki in 1975 and the



Final Act that was signed defining the fundamental principles governing the relationships among the European powers, the United States and Canada; the successful SALT-2 negotiations in Vienna where L. I. Brezhnev and J. Carter signed the strategic arms limitation treaty.

The great success of the revolutionary and national-liberation movement under conditions of peaceful coexistence was emphasized. At the Havana conference the movement of the nonaligned countries confirmed its anti-imperialist character. Its role in the solution of world problems has grown.

At the same time the overall crisis of capitalism has deepened. Under these conditions at the end of the 1970's the United States and its NATO allies began to seek a way out of the situation that had been created by an ever greater arms race, by intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and by stifling the national-liberation and revolutionary movement, by the exacerbation of their relations with the socialist countries. Their endeavor to put an end to detente and return humanity to the years of the "cold war" is obvious.

Emphasizing that the actions of the United States and its allies have exacerbated the international situation, Army Gen Dobri Zhurov declared that against their actions the Warsaw Pact participant countries pit their adamant will to live under conditions of peace and security.

The positions taken by the Bulgarian People's Republic on the present international situation were clearly expressed by our party and state's first leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in his speech to the session of the Fatherland Front National Council on 11 February 1980.

An important step towards further expansion and consolidation of the favorable changes achieved in the area of political detente on our continent will be the Madrid meeting, for which the Bulgarian People's Republic is making ready with the seriousness and responsibility that is required, the minister of national defense observed.

The Bulgarian People's Republic supports fraternal Poland's idea of convening a conference in its capital on questions of detente and disarmament in Europe and the world, and cordially greets the concrete steps of the Soviet Union for unilateral reduction in the number of its troops and armaments in Central Europe.

Finally, the Minister of National Defense Army Gen Dobri Zhurov stressed that while striving for the preservation of peace, the extension of international detente and peaceful cooperation between nations, we cannot disregard the recent actions of imperialism and we are taking measures to strengthen the defensive might of the Warsaw Pact countries and to strengthen our political and military organization in order to give a crushing rebuff to the fanciers of "cold" or "hot" war if occasion should demand.



The present-day situation imperiously sets for Warsaw Pact participant countries, for our communist parties and people, for all progressive and peace-loving humanity the task of being alert and raising the combat readiness and combat unity of our countries and armies so that they will be in a position to defend the peaceful labor and sacred frontiers of the socialist countries and the cause of peace and socialism in the world.

The questions asked by the journalists received exhaustive replies.

In the course of the press conference the documentary film, "Parashutnaya Druzhina" [Paratroop Battalion]—product of the Film Studios of the People's Army, and a documentary film on the strenuous everyday life of Soviet servicemen were shown.

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## BULGARIA

### ARTICLES, EDITORIALS MARK WORLD WAR II VICTORY DAY

AU121251 (Editorial Report) Bulgarian dailies of 8 and 9 May 1980 devote numerous editorials and signed articles to the 35th anniversary of the World War II victory, especially to the victory of the Red Army.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 May 1980, page 1, carries a 1,200-word editorial, entitled "Unity of Action in the Struggle for Peace." The same issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO on page 5 carries a 1,200-word article by Pavel Naumov, first deputy chairman of the APN news agency, entitled: "The Oath Is Not Forgotten."

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 8 May 1980 on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,200-word article by Col Gen Mircho Asenov, Bulgarian deputy minister of defense, entitled: "Day of Homage, Day of Stern Warning."

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 8 May 1980 on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,100-word report on a celebration held at the central club of the People's Army, on 7 May 1980, on the occasion of Victory Day, containing a 300-word account on the speech delivered by Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, deputy minister of national defense.

On 9 May 1980 RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,200-word editorial entitled: "Glory to Heroism, Praise to Peace" on the anniversary of the World War II victory. On 9 May 1980 NARODNA ARMIYA carries on pages 1 and 3 a 1,300-word article by Army Gen Ivan Mikhaylov entitled: "Climax in World History." On 9 May 1980 OTECHESTVEN FRONT carries on pages 1 and 2 a 2,000-word abridged version of an article by K. Noskachenko, marshal of the Soviet Union and USSR deputy minister of defense, entitled "Great Deed of the Soviet People," which, reportedly, was published by Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on the same date.

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 9 May 1980 on pages 1 and 3 carries the 1,300-word editorial by Admiral Ivan Dobrev, Bulgarian deputy minister of national defense, entitled "Great Deed." Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNANE in Bulgarian on 9 May 1980 on page 3 carries a 1,600-word article by Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, Bulgarian deputy minister of national defense, entitled "Immortal Deed."

These editorials and articles are all mainly concerned with the Soviet contribution to the victory in World War II and to the heroic deeds of the Soviet soldiers in liberating the world from fascism. Several articles mention the establishment of the socialist camp as one of the main results of victory in World War II. The contribution of the Bulgarian Army is also mentioned--but not emphasized--by some articles and editorials.

Referring to the present and to the consequences of World War II the articles and editorials stress the beneficial influence of the Soviet policy on world events, the strong cohesion of the socialist camp and the defensive character of the Warsaw Pact, as opposed to NATO, and the aggressive policy of the imperialist forces. A few articles also refer to the slanders spread against the Soviet Union in connection with events in Afghanistan and trying to accuse the Soviet Union of interfering in this country's affairs.

Many articles and editorials emphasize that the events of World War II represent a stern warning for the coming generations never to engage in such military conflagrations again. They also point out the importance of peace and detente.

The 9 May editorial in RABOTNICHESKO DELO exemplifies the tone in these articles saying, "the only path is to mobilize the peoples and arouse them to irreconcilable struggle against the danger of war and for peace and detente. The decisive prerequisite for success in this respect is the following: unity of action among the communist and all peace-loving forces, regardless of political, philosophical, religious, or other differences.

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deviations and distortions in the management methods, the April plenum provided an impetus to the revolutionary-transforming process in our country. It brought about the completion of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism at a faster pace. The sociological system of the Bulgarian society was converted from the capitalist to socialist. This was yet another triumph of the April line. However, this as well is neither all nor most important.

Following the elimination of the exploiting classes and of the exploitation of mankind, and following the victory of socialist social relations, essentially achieved by 1958, gradually, in the several years that followed, our country entered a higher stage of development. Our society faced essentially new tasks, while the party faced qualitatively new problems. These problems were comprehensive, lengthy, and difficult to resolve, involving the building of a developed socialist society. These were problems of objective clarification and study, and scientific political and theoretical formulation of the ways leading to mature socialism.

Tracing the documents and directions of our party's activities since the beginning of the 1960's we cannot fail to see that their main object was the development of problems related to building a developed socialist society and, correspondingly, organizing the people's masses for the implementation of this development.

On the basis of the report note sent by Comrade T. Zhivkov to the BCP Central Committee Politburo, at the end of 1963, the major experimentation with the new system of economic management began. The Ninth Party Congress (1966) set the basic task of national economic intensification as the main way leading to further economic progress. Comrade T. Zhivkov's famous theses on youth and the Komsomol (1967) brought into motion our entire society and opened new scope for youth initiative and daring. The July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum elaborated the basic problems of social management under the new social conditions. The September 1969 plenum provided a strong impetus to scientific and technical progress which, in the new stage of social development, is assuming a decisive significance. The April 1970 plenum defined the directions for raising agriculture to a qualitatively new stage.

This created the necessary prerequisites for the drafting and adoption of the new party program (1971), which is one of the most meaningful and creative documents issued by our party, drafted under the direct guidance and with the personal participation of Comrade T. Zhivkov, and forever linked with his name. The party program is the crowning point of lengthy theoretical-analytical work which summed up the tremendous organizational and leading activities of the party, and the inspired labor and accomplishments of the working class, agricultural workers, and socialist intelligentsia in building activities, taking into

CC SECRETARY REVIEWS PROGRESS SINCE 1956 APRIL PLENUM

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Apr 80 pp 3-4

[Article by Stoyan Nikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary: "The April Line Is a Clear Manifestation of Loyalty to Leninism"]

[Text] Today, entering the 25th anniversary of our party's April line, and celebrating the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, we see that the tempestuous flow of life is bringing forth ever new proofs of the organic link between the April line and Leninism.

We know that the immediate reason for the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum was the need to restore the Leninist norms and principles of life and management, temporarily disturbed within the party and the state during the period of the cult of personality.

Whereas after World War I history clearly proved that without Leninism our party could not become a party of a new type and would be unable to lead the struggle of the working class and the other working people against fascism and capitalism to a victorious completion, the years of socialist reorganization confirmed the law that the successful building and guiding of the new society would be impossible without Leninist concepts, principles, and methodology.

The radical elimination of the cult of personality, as a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, and from the Blagoev-Dimitrov traditions and virtues of our party, consequently, became a vital need of our social development. It established a creative atmosphere within the party and the society, and provided conditions for the development of the initiative and energy of the working people and for making the party's constructive work consistent with the requirements of the objective laws of social development. This is the first historical merit of the April line which characterizes it as Leninist, and its cause as a vivid manifestation of loyalty to Leninism. However, this is neither all nor the most important.

By correcting the subjectivistic decisions on essential problems of economic and, in general, social development, and eliminating the



consideration, at the same time, the theoretical and practical experience of the CPSU and of the other fraternal parties.

However, the work did not stop with this. On the basis of the party program a new constitution was drafted and adopted (1971). It became the legal base for the reconstruction of legislation and state management in accordance with the new historical stage of social development.

In the 1970's our party continued its further intensive work on the problems of building a developed socialist society, concretizing and developing the party program. The December 1972 plenum made a contribution to resolving the central problem of the living standard of the people. The February 1974 plenum contributed to resolving the problem of ideological activities. The National Party Conference (1974) helped to resolve the problem of labor productivity. The 11th Party Congress (1976) raised and substantiated the strategic slogan of high quality and high effectiveness. In a spirit of party intolerance of shortcomings, the July 1976 plenum raised the question of the systematic application of the Leninist principles in economic management, savings, the multiplication approach, and the surmounting of the contradiction between objective requirements and the status of the subjective factor. The National Party Conference (1978) considered the key problem of the socialist organization of labor. The same year the letter sent by Comrade T. Zhivkov to the Komsomol Central Committee, of exceptionally important content, was issued. It was the base for the theses elaborated and adopted by the BCP Central Committee Plenum (1979) on the development of education, and so on.

Along with the elaboration of such problems, corresponding organizational party activities were launched. The country's production forces made great progress. Spiritual culture was enriched comprehensively. A nationwide program for esthetic education was drafted and began to be successfully implemented. New economic mechanisms were drafted and are being successfully applied in agriculture, industry, foreign and domestic trade, transportation, and construction. A new economic mechanism in the spiritual, nonproduction sphere will be shortly adopted and applied.

Along with the solution of internal problems governing the development of a developed socialist society, and in accordance with changed international conditions, the party drafted the basic directions, mechanisms, and forms of the country's foreign policy for the new stage. Suffice it to mention here the July and October 1973 BCP Central Committee plenums which dealt with the country's foreign policy and which developed the problem of raising Bulgarian-Soviet friendship to a higher stage of all-round cooperation and rapprochement, and the exceptionally meaningful programmatic speeches delivered by Comrade T. Zhivkov in Blagoevgrad (1978), to the National Assembly (1979), and the National Council of the Fatherland Front (1980) on foreign policy problems.

Even such a short and schematic enumeration of the basic elaborations provided by our party and of the main directions followed in each practical activity, shows the dominant feature and, in terms of historical perspective, the most essential aspect of its April line. Obviously, this includes the gradually implemented, expanded and intensified Marxist-Leninist elaboration, clarification, and analysis of problems related to building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria; the all-round mobilization of all popular forces for the accelerated and successful implementation of this immediate historical party task; and the tremendous achievements accomplished in this direction.

Unquestionably, the activities of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, as first leader of the party and the state, are part of the foundations of this tremendously complex, difficult, and all-embracing process. The history of each new stage of social development seeks and finds the individuals who perceive most fully and most adequately and most profoundly penetrate into its requirements and needs and, correspondingly, make the highest contribution to the implementation of its tasks. As the creator and strategist of the April line, Comrade T. Zhivkov proved to be the leading personality in our party and country whose personal qualities, themselves subjected to a steady process of enrichment and development, met the social requirements most completely and accurately. Suffice it for me to indicate here the exceptional Zhivkovian feeling for touchy ripe problems and requirements of social progress, and the profound processes of social development. The Zhivkovian perspicacity in opening broad horizons and distant objectives in the activities of the party and the people's masses; the Zhivkovian tirelessness and communist purposefulness.

Once again, Leninism proved to be the starting point in the elaboration of problems and the practical building of a developed socialist society.

First of all, this was necessary in order to realize the stipulation governing mature socialism, which appeared in Lenin in the first years following the October revolution, when he paid exceptional attention to the problem of the further development of the Soviet state and the Soviet society. We know that as early as 1918 Lenin noted that, "We have barely taken the first steps to shake off capitalism entirely and undertake a transition to socialism. We neither know nor could we know the number of transitional stages remaining on the way to socialism." (*Speech* [Work], Vol 27, p 116). That same year Lenin introduced the concept of "developed socialist society," which described the highest stage of socialist development. However, in Lenin all this remained a general, undeveloped, unfolded formulation. However, it became the starting point, the creative impetus which enabled our party to undertake a profound characterization of mature socialism, summing up, first of all, its own experience, and relying, at the same time, on the experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties.

Second, the elaboration of the problems related to building a developed socialist society was not merely a recollection, a restoration and application of Lenin's formulations, but also the further development and enrichment of our revolutionary theory under new international and domestic, national historical conditions. However, this contribution to the theory and practice of building mature socialism could be achieved, and is being achieved today, on the basis and with the help of Leninist methodology. A bookworm attitude toward theoretical heritage has nothing in common with the spirit of Leninism. Nor has it been inherent in our party, particularly in its April development period. Hence a rule of key significance: Loyalty to Leninism is not only the acknowledgment or consideration of one or another Leninist formulation reflecting specific historical tasks and problems of the anticapitalist struggle and the building of socialism, some of which, under the new specific-historical circumstances, may turn out to be exhausted or inexpedient, but, above all, loyalty to the Leninist approach to social phenomena and processes and loyalty to the Leninist evaluation criteria and to its proletarian, its communist ideal. In other words, loyalty to Leninism consists, above all, of comprehensively utilizing and systematically applying Leninist methodology in the study of social phenomena, the formulation of party tasks, and the organization of the working class and working people for the implementation of these tasks.

Lenin proved to be a brilliant Marxist not because he blindly and dogmatically defended some formulations expressed by Marx and Engels, some of which have become obsolete under the new conditions, but because, loyal to their method, he raised their doctrine to a higher stage in all its main directions, thus making it useful as a victorious theoretical foundation of the struggle and as an effective and irreplaceable manual in construction. Therefore, dogmatism or blind obedience neither is nor could it be considered loyalty to Leninism. Loyalty to Leninism is, and should be, the creative development of theory and the enrichment of the practice of the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism in a Leninist spirit, on the basis of Leninist methodology. Our party's April line is a characteristic example in this respect, and its architect—Comrade Yoder Zhivkov—proved to be a remarkable creative Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

That is precisely why we define the April line as the Leninist line in its deepest essence. From this viewpoint as well, the policy of our party and the present and future of our country are inseparably linked with Leninism, with the cause of the brilliant strategist of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Even by taking the most important, the central problem which now occupies our party and state leadership, namely, the systematic application of the economic approach in the management of material production and the nonproduction sphere, we shall see, once again, the organic link between the April line and Leninism. From the theoretical viewpoint, the

economic approach represents the systematic application of the specific laws and, in this case, the specific economic laws of socialism which, on the basis of Marx' and Engels' legacy were innovatively developed by Lenin.

Let me recall just three of Lenin's stipulations in this respect. In the final years of his life, Lenin adamantly emphasized that socialism is built not directly on the basis of the enthusiasm of the masses, but on the basis of their material interest. This does not include even the least underestimating of spiritual incentives for work, but makes clear an objective law governing the entire socialist phase of socialist development. This Leninist formulation is of acute topical significance to us now, when we are drastically trying to intensify material interest and substantially enhance material responsibility for the end result of the work of labor collectives and individuals.

Let me recall yet another of Lenin's thoughts which he developed in his brilliant work "The State and Revolution." Lenin stressed that accountability and control are the main aspects governing the proper functioning of the first phase of the communist system. This may seem prosaic and one-sided to some. Actually, it has a deep meaning and invaluable heuristic significance.

In order to understand the meaning of this, let me recall Lenin's formulation that even after the elimination of exploiting classes and the victory of socialist social relations, i.e., in the course of the entire socialist phase as a nonantagonistic system, the state continues to be needed for purposes of social development. Naturally, this applies to the socialist state, the state which is no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat but is gradually converting into a state of the whole people. This profound qualitative change in the nature of the state is a step toward its withering away. Despite this, however, it continues to remain necessary.

As we know, during the entire socialist phase, despite its fast growth, labor productivity is insufficient for the distribution of material goods in accordance with the requirements of the people. Objectively and inevitably distribution is based not according to the needs of the people but on the basis of their personal contribution to the development of production and socially useful labor, in general. Hence the inevitability of differences in the material status of the individual citizens. Deviations from the socialist way of life are related to this factor through complex direct and indirect ways. All this calls for settling the activities of the people and social groups on a state-legal basis and to preserve the equality of labor and the socialist principle of distribution. In turn, this would be inconceivable and impossible without an excellently developed and comprehensively operating control and accountability system.



That is how the economic policy of our party, as an essential leading feature of its April line, is indivisible and is based on Lenin's theoretical legacy. It represents the elaboration and further development of his essential stipulations under our specific conditions and tasks.

As a higher stage in the development of Marxism, Leninism is a permanent political and scientific base and methodology for our country's foreign policy in the course of building a mature socialist society. Our foreign policy is deeply rooted on the basic Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

Our party's internationalist nature was profoundly laid out by its very founders. It is no accident that Lenin himself considered the "left-wingers" in Bulgaria as part of the current of revolutionary internationalists." Today this internationalism, enriched and further developed, particularly in the period of the April line, is being practically implemented in the systematic policy of socialist integration with the Soviet Union, legitimately developing into a new stage of Bulgarian-Soviet reciprocal relations: the stage of all-round cooperation and rapprochement, and a policy of active development of integration and cooperation between our country and the fraternal socialist countries, headed by the USSR. In the future, this will inevitably and gradually lead to the implementation of Lenin's prediction of the creation of an international socialist cooperative, helping the revolutionary forces in the world, and strengthening the unity of the international workers and communist movements. Our party is loyal to Lenin's behest of doing "everything possible which a country could do for developing, supporting, and awakening the revolution in all countries" ("Such.," Vol 28, p 298).

The foreign political activities of our country have been particularly active and constructive in its April period in strengthening the peace throughout the world, strictly following Lenin's instruction according to which peace is our best ally and "will advance the project infinitely better than war," for peace opens "100 times more and more widely the road of our influence" (Ibid, Vol 30, p 455).

Lenin's idea of peaceful coexistence is today the only sensible base for the solution of international problems for the sake of real humanism. Our party is pursuing a systematic, constructive, principled, and flexible struggle for a lasting peace, for excluding war from the life of mankind, and for developing relations of good-neighborliness, equality, mutual benefit, and broadening of comprehensive cooperation in the Balkans.



The creative legacy of the immortal Lenin, immeasurable in terms of standard human concepts, is the crystally pure source from which we draw fully ideas, advice, encouragement, and reliance, in order to find the proper, scientifically substantiated answer to the topical problems raised by the further development of a mature socialistic society in our country in the interest of the working class, the working people, and our international cause. Our loyalty to Leninism is an essential, a necessary prerequisite for all successes in this work. "Without Leninism and, even more so, in opposition to Leninism," Comrade Todor Zhivkov has pointed out, "no proper scientific analysis or accurate scientific solution of any basic problem of our time would be possible" ("Lab. Buch," [Selected Works, Vol 17, p 362]).

The supporters of the bourgeoisie vainly proclaim that Leninism has become obsolete, and that its importance was local. In vain do revisionists and reformists try to separate the international workers and communist movements from Leninism.

We're proud of being Marxists and Leninists. We are proud of the fact that our party's April line is a Leninist line. This means that we are unreservedly loyal to Leninism without, however, being dogmatists. This means that our party leadership, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov is developing the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism in accordance with specific Bulgarian conditions, remaining essentially alien toward revisionism. This means that we have inseparably linked ourselves with the problems of life and practice without, however, being empiricists. This means that we are inspired by our revolutionary dialectical materialistic theory without being either educators or groundless dreamers.

By following Lenin's example we organically combine science with practice. We merge together the basic interests of the working class with the interests of the remaining toiling masses and the objectives of universal humanism, confidently progressing toward our communist ideal.

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# EDITORIAL STRESSES NEED TO KEEP SOLDIERS WELL INFORMED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Mar 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Greater Effectiveness, Actuality, and Purposefulness"]

[Text] We are living in a period of revolutionary changes, of dynamic transformations in social life. This has brought about a tempestuous growth of the volume of information. Hence the need to quickly and operatively present it to the troops, for, as V. I. Lenin said, the state "is strong when the masses know everything, can judge everything, and undertake everything consciously."

Today achieving high-level consciousness and information of the troops would be inconceivable without steadily acquainting them with problems of the country's political, economical, and cultural life, and the latest party decisions. Thus, for example, the personnel of the sub-unit where Officer Toshev serves, were informed on time with the nature and requirements of the new economic approach, decree number 50 of the BCP Central Committee and Council of Ministers, the decisions of the December National Assembly Session, the BCP Central Committee letter on the fulfillment of the plan for the socioeconomic development of the country in 1980 and 1981, and the consequent tasks facing the troops, the speech by Comrade T. Zhivkov at the meeting of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, of 11 February 1980, and others. This exposure has not only an information function but contributes to the development of the soldiers' initiative, encouraging them to engage in active efforts to carry out assignments.

Currently, an exceptionally important component of political information is the interpretation of the most important and topical problems of international life, the active foreign political actions of our party and state, and the initiatives and persistent activities of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist comity aimed at the preservation of the peace and the protection of the revolutionary achievements of the people from the attempts of the American imperialists and Chinese hegemonists. It is particularly important substantively and persuasively to expose the reactionary role and peace-threatening aggressive actions of the

militaristic circles of the United States, NATO, and the Chinese leadership, and the delicious slanderous anti-Soviet campaign they are promoting.

The informative, educational, and organizational function of political information, and the power of its influence become the more effective the more it is operative, topical, accessible, consistent, and full in the interpretation of phenomena and processes, and their organic connection with the life and tasks of the respective military collective. Unfortunately, occasionally important global, domestic, and army events are interpreted sluggishly and with delays.

The selection of the most topical problems is of great importance. We must select the main, the most significant among the numerous and varied events and phenomena taking place in the country and abroad and in the armed forces, items of the broadest possible social significance at a given time. Such information must be most closely related also to informing the troops with new and previously unknown facts and phenomena which would trigger their lively interest. Naturally, it is a question not of any random event of secondary significance, but of socially significant events. Occasionally, however, political information is general, containing old and already known facts.

Under contemporary conditions, comments, class-party and military-political analyses play a greater role in oral political information. Soldiers receive their initial information usually from the radio, the television, and the press. However, its accurate and precise interpretation is not always possible to all. This is where the lecturer, the reporter, and the political informant play a major role. They not only inform the soldiers of events and not only share information, but interpret, analyze, and sum up such events profoundly and comprehensively, showing their interconnection, drawing convincing conclusions, and encouraging the soldiers to engage in profoundly conscious activities aimed at the conscientious fulfillment of their military obligations.

It is very important for political information to be consistent in terms of content and form with the characteristics of the political maturity, cultural standard, level of information, and interests of the various categories of military personnel--officers, sergeants, and privates.

The effectiveness of political information and its quality are determined mostly by the level of knowledge and methodical skill of those who provide it. Information is provided not only by the political informants. Commanders and political workers at all levels, leading staff personnel, and members of lecturers' groups and agitation collectives participate in such activities. Use is made of party, state, and economic personalities, military and civilian lecturers and speakers, and specialists in various fields of social life and international relations.

The systematic training of the people engaged in oral political information by political departments, deputy commanders for political affairs, and party committees and bureaus, helping them in their choice of publications and various reference works, and statistical, visual, and other data, and direct individual aid in the course of their training process are becoming exceptionally important at the present stage.

Along with the approved methods of monthly reports to officers and weekly political information of privates and sergeants, educational meetings sponsored by party and Komsomol organizations, single political days, question-and-answer evenings, meetings between the command personnel with the troops of individual subunits, lecture cycles, and others are being applied ever more extensively.

The great fruitfulness of political information provided the military personnel and the complex international circumstances demand constant work on the part of commanders and political workers aimed at its further improvement. This would lead to a comprehensive improvement of overall mass-political work and of the comprehensive ideological and political upbringing of the soldiers. The contribution of political information to the steady struggle for the intensification of the combat power of our people's army will be considerably enhanced.

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## BETTER TRAINING OF AIR PILOTS URGED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Mar 80 pp 1-2

[Article by Col Lal'o Vurbanov, military pilot first class: "On Flight Safety"]

[Text] The G. Benkovski Higher People's Air Force Academy has become a prestigious school training highly skilled air force officers and sergeants. Guided by excellently trained teachers and method instructors, the students acquire further theoretical knowledge and high professional training which enable them to develop as air fighters--defenders of our native skies.

The theses of the BCP Central Committee on the development of the educational system and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Komsomol Central Committee raised the basic problem of the vocational training of the young specialists. This must be a manifestation of the comprehensive and highly effective implementation and the result of the free and uncoerced activity of the individual, leading to steady self-development of his capabilities and socialist conscientiousness.

In this respect modern aviation has extensive possibilities along with high requirements. The main feature in such requirements is the high combat readiness and combat training not only of the individual air force soldier but of anyone participating in his training and support.

Along with combat readiness factors, flight safety requirements and the reliability of aviation equipment substantially influence the training of the flyer to act in complex circumstances.

The flight safety is not self-seeking. It is, above all, a manifestation of high combat readiness and concern for the person, for the flier. That is why the high skills of the future fliers and impeccable flying activities would be inconceivable without raising the quality of the training process to the level of the party requirements, without a streamlined organization of flights, and without improving the method of training and the struggle for flight safety.



We know that flying is one of the most complex types of human activities, characterized by specific and unique features. They include unusual working conditions, fast motion in the air, forced quick action close to the limits of human possibilities, and unpredicted different unplanned situations which, in some cases, may even threaten the life of the flier.

In the selection of fliers, along with general theoretical training, aviation physicians and psychologists pay exceptional attention to the personnel's self-control, endurance, reaction speed, instant evaluation of circumstances, and the making of correct decisions and their execution, i.e., the psychological selection and mental stability of the personnel.

Recently, in performing complex flight figures, student Cherkasov made mistakes in piloting techniques in terms of overloading and speed. His instructor, Senior Lt Engineer Dzhunev, also a young flier, decided to show him how to do the figures properly. However, the airplane fell in a complex situation in which neither flier was able to regain control for normal flight. Assessing the dangerous situation, the instructor ordered the student to abandon the airplane. The order was obeyed instantaneously. Immediately after that, in a fraction of a second, the airplane regained a normal flight condition. Having preserved his self-control, the instructor assumed control firmly, flew normally, and landed on the air strip normally. Neither the fliers nor the airplane suffered any harm.

Practical experience indicates that if the psychological training of the fliers, including the students, is on the level of modern requirements, high flying results will be achieved. The quality of the assignments will be upgraded and the number of prerequisites which may lead to flight accidents will be reduced.

Commanders, instructors, and other aviation specialists perfectly realize that complex flight equipment requires constant improvements of the training methods and, above all, of piloting. The study of the example we gave indicates that the piloting technique of both fliers was not on the necessary level. The error made by the instructor as a result of his insufficient training turned out to be decisive in the case of this dangerous prerequisite. Yet, the instructor is the one who should know the most and be able to instruct.

The elimination of reasons leading to prerequisites for flight accidents is the main direction in the work of the command-instructor personnel and the party and Komsomol organization in the struggle against accidents. The instructor, as the basic figure in the training, should predispose the student in such a way that the student will not be afraid or refrain from saying that he finds the work difficult, that he is tired, or that he doubts his own forces and possibilities.

In order to reduce the number of prerequisites for flight accidents, training in simulators accounts for a considerable share of the training. Here, along with mastering the elements of flight assignments, the instructor observes the behavior of the students and their reactions in the creation of complex situations. At such training the flier masters the entire procedure and sequence of the exercise, works with the switches and handles in the cockpit, and becomes familiar with the equipment and the actions to be taken should any given instrument, machine unit or system refuse to function. During flights and simulator training, the instructor must develop in the trainees speed of reaction, initiative, daring and decisiveness in actions. At such training the instructor must not draw the attention of the students to only negative examples in flying practice, thus developing a false idea concerning the aviation equipment and the flier's profession.

In order to reduce the emotional tension of the students, the instructor must be particularly attentive and concerned toward all of them. His optimism and confidence are transmitted to the students and a deserved praise gives an influx of energy and desire to justify the trust of the teacher, creating a feeling of pride in one's own profession.

The study and analysis of the prerequisites for flight accidents should be such as to prevent the development of a bad feeling or fear of flying. Some more impressive students display a feeling of fear, and certain difficulties result in their further training. They become passive while flying and rigid in their actions. For this reason they must be proved theoretically and, whenever possible, practically that there neither is nor could there be a fatal situation.

However, developing confidence in the students in their own forces, we must attentively see to it that this confidence does not grow into bumpiness, which sometimes occurs. Should this be noticed prompt measures must be taken.

The flight manager plays a major role. He must speak in a moderate, calm tone in order to give confidence to the students in their forces and possibilities. There is no need to emphasize the fact that he must possess great theoretical knowledge and practical skills in the use of aviation equipment and piloting. The flight manager is the first person to help the student in a complex flight situation.

Flying without creating prerequisites leading to flight accidents also largely depends on the work of the engineering-technical personnel. The high professional training and moral-combat qualities of aviation specialists give the young fliers and students confidence in the impercable work of the equipment in the air and tune them up mentally to engage in daring and decisive actions in the air.

The development of the future air force fighter as a highly trained specialist in his profession is a difficult and responsible assignment. It demands of the command-instructor and the teaching personnel to engage in an endless search for new ways and means for the training of the students, promoting love for the aviation and for the full manifestation and self-realization of young aviation cadres.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### ESPIONAGE CASE REVEALS METHODS OF EAST BERLIN SECURITY SERVICE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 34 No 17, 21 Apr 80 pp 98-99, 101, 103, 106

[Article: "'A Little Bit of GDR Spirit:' The Case of Physicist Rolf Dobbertin Suspected of Espionage"]

[Text] For 22 years physicist Rolf Dobbertin supplied information to the East Berlin intelligence service from Paris. The case affords remarkable insights into German Markus Wolf's espionage apparatus. But French authorities have a difficult time proving that the German has committed a criminal offense.

The man inside the prison van has handcuffs on; a convoy is bringing him to Paris. Up front, there are two policemen on motorcycles waving the oncoming traffic aside; then there is a passenger car carrying two escort officers and then another car and finally the van itself--there are lots of blue lights flashing.

For the past 15 months, more than once a week at times, this convoy has made the 50-kilometer trip from the prison at Fleury-Merogis to Rue St. Dominique in Paris where the examining magistrate has his office. The handcuffs are only taken off the prisoner during interrogation. He must be an important man.

The prisoner's name is Rolf Dobbertin. The 45-year-old natural scientist was arrested on 19 January 1979, one day after GDR agent Werner Stiller defected to the West. In the view of Western intelligence experts, Dobbertin is the most important of the two dozen East Berlin Ministry for State Security (MfS) agents Stiller helped uncover.

Throughout the 22 years Dobbertin has lived in France he has been a salaried MfS employee. In Paris, Dobbertin worked for the National Council for Scientific Research (CNRS), most recently on nuclear fusion by means of laser beams, a no doubt exacting scientific project. The French authorities suspect that he used his position to pass on valuable information--at the very least secret data on nuclear technology and laser research.

Dobbertin admits to receiving an extra salary check from East Berlin and to still being a member of the SED. A conscientious offender, a "mole" as L'EXPRESS has called him in an allusion to John le Carre?

He was arrested at 0930 and that very morning they began interrogating him. The house he lived in near Place d'Italie was surrounded by 30 men. For a week agents of French counter-intelligence (DST) went over the apartment, but all they could find and cart away were a few worthless note pads and an old GDR movie camera of the type AK 7.

But the other charges against the detainee are serious enough. Double agent Stiller has collected some solid evidence and brought along a dossier of several hundred pages on Dobbertin alone. Stiller obtained his material at first hand. He was Dobbertin's control officer.

The tribunal likely to judge the German physicist is the French State Security Court, a special court of odd composition by normal European legal standards, consisting of three military and two professional judges. This court deals only with political offenses. Established toward the end of the Algerian conflict to try insurgent officers, the court has most recently heard charges against Breton separatists and Corsican bomb-throwers.

Despite all the evidence, it is an open question whether the charges against Dobbertin—that he is a public enemy, an atom spy and a mole—can be made to stick, since the relevant Section 80, Paragraph 3 of the French penal code clearly states that espionage constitutes an act "to the detriment of the military or diplomatic position of France." But since Dobbertin's activities consisted of unverifiable conversations with GDR contacts and the transmittal of publicly accessible documents, it is difficult to pinpoint any violation of French interests.

The examining magistrate of the State Security Court has been investigating the matter for 15 months now. The trial is scheduled for the fall, but for the present Dobbertin's guilt has not been sufficiently proven. His major point is: "I have done France no harm whatsoever."

Engaged in a public dispute with the French media and defending himself against their accusations, the physicist has characterized his actions as normal scientific practice. In a piece which appeared in LE MONDE, Dobbertin said of his GDR contacts: "The international nature of research is a functional attribute of science and not a question of tolerance or of generosity dispensed by individual nations." This line of reasoning is upheld by the Helsinki accords.

To be sure, at the close of CSCE the heads of government of East and West made quite a show of including a paragraph dealing with freedom of research. Technical and scientific cooperation, so the final document said, can definitely be conducted on a nongovernmental level "by making use of a variety of contacts including those of a direct and individual nature."



Even Dobbartin will hardly claim that this applies to contacts with the East Berlin MfS. But as long as the law does not specifically prohibit it, he says, "it should be six of one and half a dozen of the other whether I use my left or my right leg to dance on." But he does admit: "I cannot truly say I was as genuine a scientist as all the others."

But the significance of the Dobbartin case cannot be measured in terms of the amount and the importance of the information which kept flowing for 22 years. Western observers, for their part, find this prototype of an agent's career more fascinating and productive to study, using one of the oldest members of the MfS foreign service as an example. Never before have they been able to obtain such detailed insights into the technical and political as well as the historical and human aspects of East Berlin foreign intelligence apparatus.

The information Stiller brought with him to the West revealed a GDR espionage mosaic. It afforded new insights into the MfS headed by Politburo member Colonel General Erich Mielke and above all into the workings of the Main Administration for Intelligence Collection (HVA) under the aegis of legendary Lieutenant General Markus Wolf. Stiller's dossier on Dobbartin help take the mystery out of the apparatus and provide a detailed look at the daily routine of an espionage organization. The dossiers provide information on:

**Control Methods:** The agents are given regular contracts which regulate salaries as well as the modalities of subsequent return to the GDR. The agents prefer to arrange their contacts with East Berlin emissaries at constantly changing meeting points in various Western countries. On occasion, these meetings are placed under special MfS surveillance.

**Investigative Goals:** Rather than having agents acquire material surreptitiously, they are often placed in key technical posts, serving as consultants and systems advisers on behalf of the GDR.

**Administrative Red Tape:** Bureaucratic confusion leads to grotesque breakdowns in the transmission of information. The MfS accounting office involves foreign agents in petty squabbles about expenses.

**Political Differences:** Deviation from the SED line is noted in the dossiers but, in the case of trusted agents often tolerated for years. A moderate deviationist may continue working in his particular field.

**Misinformation:** Vanity, pressure to succeed or misunderstandings on the part of couriers or control officers. Often cause headquarters to play up the agent's everyday acquaintances as important sources or news reports as background information.

When Dobbertin first showed up in the West in 1958 he told FRG authorities the truth, even if he was somewhat cryptic about it. On the occasion of Nobel laureates convention in Lindau the then 23 year-old student from Rostock asked to be admitted to the FRG. When the local police asked him whether he was a political refugee, he said no. But he received his permit within 3 days anyway.

Rolf Dobbertin had joined the SED in 1953. While studying at Rostock University, he held the post of FDJ chairman in the science department and submitted political evaluations of his fellow students. The party felt he was a dedicated party-liner deserving of an MFS-style foreign study grant.

As one of the several hundred thousand refugees from the GDR Dobbertin crossed the German-German border and subsequently enrolled at Paris University. He received a monthly check from East Berlin amounting to 400 marks and his initial goal was to get an education while at the same time making contacts and collecting bits of information.

The fact that the FRG adopted policies in the fifties aimed at systematically isolating the GDR had a definite effect on science, too. At the universities there was a great deal of impatience, only among the SED cadres, and the desire "to let GDR science gain the kind of access to the world it justly deserves," as Dobbertin put it.

The arguments MFS recruiters used on the university students were straightforward enough. Since the GDR was being barred from diplomatic relations with the West and, as a consequence, from the flow of Western information, they said, the MFS would have to establish a kind of ersatz network. This emergency apparatus forced upon the GDR by Bonn as it were would require the cooperation of the science community.

In most cases, the MFS assignment served the GDR students "only as a formal cover," the primary motivation being "spontaneous political commitment." As for Rolf Dobbertin, he felt "the GDR had every right to get it all. The only question was how."

But this was no problem for the MFS. The young agent was given a quickie course in intelligence techniques. West German intelligence experts estimate that the basic training of GDR foreign agents takes 3 to 7 months. But Dobbertin says it took him little more than two afternoons to learn what he needed.

Accordingly, what he took with him to Paris were a manual for decoding radio instructions and devices for doctoring letters sent by regular mail and nothing else.

In case he wanted to contact East Berlin, he would implant miniaturized information bits called "Mikrate" in the text of an otherwise harmless letter. Dobbertin made frequent use of "Mikrate" to communicate with headquarters,

above all to confirm receipt of radio instructions and he soon found out that the MFS pursued ulterior psychological motives in engaging its agents in such a lively conspiratorial dialogue.

This air of secrecy is designed to give even a faraway agent a comforting sense of being an integral part of the apparatus--"like giving a Christian a rosary," as Dobbertin puts it. At the same time, this conspiratorial relationship makes an agent feel that he is at all times at the mercy of his employer or, conversely, at the mercy of his pursuers, that "he just cannot get away any more." Also, the constant need of confirming the radio messages enabled headquarters to check whether the agent is listening to the radio as diligently as he was told.

While still a student, Rolf Dobbertin was sent on assignment from Paris to the FND and to West Berlin primarily. He would visit whatever former GDR acquaintances and fellow students he liked. In most instances, he asked them what their reasons for leaving had been. Once he even called at the East Bureau of the SPD in West Berlin to try to convince an old-time chum from the GDR on MFS orders to come to a meeting in East Berlin. Dobbertin had no success and later called the attempt "stupid."

In this particular case Werner Stiller almost got Dobbertin to the point of kidnapping someone. The MFS did not quite view it this way. There is merely a vague note in Dobbertin's dossier saying: "Went to Berlin to take part in the arrest of X; but turned out to be nonsense."

At any rate, the case of the Paris physicist makes it plain that the infamous HVA does not always operate with the consummate efficiency ascribed to it in the West. In fact, the HVA has conducted some rather doubtful operations reminiscent of "Our Man in Havana." Just as in the Graham Greene book the plans for a vacuum cleaner are passed off as plans for a secret weapon, there are all sorts of busbodies trying to catch the limelight in East Berlin.

Thus Dobbertin reported to "Armin," his control officer, once that a girl he met at a New Year's Eve party had a secretarial job at the Sud Aviation airplane factory. On another occasion he read the production figures of the military transport plane Transall to Armin from the newspaper. As this report made its way up through channels, it was converted into a great success story according to which a Sud Aviation staffer had been won over and was already supplying secret production figures of military aircraft. And that is the way it went into the MFS files.

What the MFS control officers did not like at all was that Rolf Dobbertin was getting ready to join some colleagues on a 3 month long trip to China and was even learning Chinese. As a consequence, there is an entry in his dossier suspecting him of being "pro-Chinese."

At times, the transmission of larger quantities of material was handled quite unprofessionally. Dobbertin was once asked by his employers to ship them a suitcase full of conference reports. Unexpected problems arose. The

intermediaries were apparently concerned that the documents, if shipped to the GDR directly, might fall into the hands of an uninitiated GDR border guard who, suspecting them to contain Western propaganda, would relegate to the shredder.

The problem was solved by leaving the suitcase in a Frankfurt am Main checkroom to be picked up by a special courier later. East Berlin sent Dobbertin a toilet kit with a false bottom into which he slipped the baggage ticket and returned it to the GDR. The only trouble was the kit was held up by GDR customs for 2 weeks.

In 1961 Dobbertin finished his studies at the university and soon thereafter entered the employ of CNRS. At this point the GDR scholarship funds ran out and the salary question arose. It is normal MfS practice to remunerate foreign operatives according to a well-contrived scheme. A Western expert puts it this way: "They are paid just enough to keep them happy; but not too much so they don't get too independent."

Initially, Dobbertin was paid 250 marks per month and later 450, not including expenses. His expenses came to about another 3,000 marks per year, primarily because of the many trips he took out of the country.

From this point on Dobbertin had to wage "a constant battle for money." His saying "I want to be reimbursed for every penny I spend" did not sit well with the East Berlin accounting office. Whenever he asked for more money, the MfS fiscal people pointed out to him that the cost of living in France had not risen as much as he claimed.

Dobbertin, who had married a West German woman in the meantime, once asked for a raise. He was told instead to have his wife look for a job. On another occasion he went to Salzburg on business to attend a conference. While there he went to the festival with his wife and later tried to get reimbursed for the price of the tickets. This particular matter became a cause celebre at MfS.

Rolf Dobbertin, whose parents live in Rostock, often went to the GDR with his wife. He regularly had intelligence contacts in other countries as well--in the FRG on many occasions and in Yugoslavia. In the course of the 22 years he worked under four different control officers. These in turn had assistants who were mostly given lowly courier assignments such as "pick up suitcase in West Berlin." One or the other of them succeeded in time to be promoted to control officer himself.

They all used code names. In the mid-seventies Armin introduced Dobbertin to "Werner," a new acquisition, a physicist like himself who soon divulged his family name of "Stiller" which was proof enough that Werner Stiller's name at birth was something else entirely.

Werner Stiller, a slender man of medium height, spoke more or less like an East German and presented a style of studied elegance. Those who knew him recall: "He always dressed according to the latest fashions." He had a



weakness for Western suiting, preferring light shades of gray or blue. Dobbertin thought "young Mende might have looked something like him." For a while, Werner was still busy in the suitcase department, but then in 1977 he replaced Armin as the Paris physicist's control officer.

Dobbertin had not been to the GDR since 1974 and that was fine with his new control officer, Werner Stiller, who seemed to develop a great liking for scheduling meetings in the West. But, scientist that he is, Dobbertin could not help noticing that Stiller, a trained physicist, had "absolutely no idea" about the subject. That, however, was not surprising; he had other things on his mind.

Although Stiller merely held the rank of first lieutenant in the technological espionage department of HVA, he was a party activist, a first secretary in fact, and as such had regular access to top officials and high-level information in the other departments. His operational assignments as control officer in the West made it easy for him to serve as a double agent for the Federal Intelligence Service for many years, one would assume.

To those who listened carefully to what he said when in the West, Stiller would indicate at times that he no longer was a dyed-in-the-wool SED party faithful but was disappointed by the numerous unresolved discrepancies between ideology and reality in the GDR. "He never really came out and said so," Dobbertin himself recalls. "But one could tell there was something wrong."

Once they met in a bar in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia. After they had had a few drinks Stiller, contrary to custom, grew chummy and candid. "I have had a look at your dossier," he said. "I can almost understand why you are so critical."

Dobbertin's opinions were a matter of record at MfS of course. Visitors from headquarters had submitted memoranda of conversation stating that Dobbertin at times tended to keep his distance from the East Berlin party line and that he made no bones of the fact that he sympathized with socialist critics of Socialism such as Bahro and Havemann.

The Dobbertin dossier brought to the West by Stiller contains notations such as "anarchist" and "unscientific." The dossier also notes that Dobbertin's wife Ellen, in speaking to an East German, "used provocative language in describing the GDR as aggressive" at the time of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia but points out that Dobbertin himself was probably behind it.

Those who took note of such deviationist symptoms appear not to have had too much influence. Higher levels at headquarters appear not to have esteemed their man in Paris any less and suspicious as Eastern intelligence types are they continued to consult him even though, as in MfS inside joke has it "asking questions is grounds for suspicion."



At his own request, Rolf Dobbertin transmitted documents only from time to time. His main job, he says, was to "supply advice rather than information." He would, for instance, have lengthy conversations with GDR experts and offer his professional opinion on subjects such as fast breeders and laser fusion.

These conversations did not deal with details which are familiar enough to the Eastern scientists because of their own basic research findings. Indications are that Dobbertin's opposites were primarily interested in maintaining regular contact with a top Western technologist they could trust in order to compare their own level of development with that of the West. In other words, they were indeed looking for advice rather than espionage.

Dobbertin always considered himself "a very special case." Even his closest interlocutors at the MfS were often unable to follow him. In 1967 he got orders one day to report "to the Chief" in East Berlin. Dobbertin assumes it was Markus Wolf himself who told him: "You have to perfect yourself to the point of supply to us with general evaluations, even if it takes 5 to 10 years." A Wolf underling said later: "It is easy for him to talk. The likes of us have to submit detailed activity reports."

Headquarters held the physicist in such high esteem that they were willing to forgive not only his ideological lapses but a bit of laxness now and again. In the early seventies, the MfS decided to relieve Dobbertin of his Paris functions. In 1973 he was told in Rostock: "You will stay here from now on. We have given you a chance to study. Now we need someone like you here."

Dobbertin, who did not want to leave Paris and return to the GDR, kept delaying matters. MfS emissaries tried to apply moral pressure. They called him "comrade" and threatened to excommunicate him, saying "we simply won't know you any more." In the end, the physicist at least got out of having to return to the GDR. He went to Oxford for a year and when he received a new, promising offer from CNRS in 1975 MfS agreed to let him go back to Paris with an official assignment.

There are detailed agreements, sometimes even written contracts in which the HVA sets down the assignments of their agents, their remuneration and repatriation and, as a later reward, certain GDR privileges. Dobbertin says he "never received an official piece of paper." That is why he picked his contacts on his own most of the time and decided on his own what he would supply. "When they tried to give me the business, I would just tell them that they had no way of getting at me." And it seems as though East Berlin was willing to go along with this in-between relationship.

But now Rolf Dobbertin has gotten caught between the lines after all. He does not deny his role as a scientist and an informant on behalf of the GDR. But if he goes back to the GDR to those who sent him, the "human factor" enters into the equation--another macabre reminder of Graham Greene. He would have to separate from his family which is rooted in the West. His wife has a job in Paris and his 12 year-old son goes to a French school. They do not want to move to the GDR under any circumstances.

Dobbertin was given an opportunity to stay in France, if he would make a confession and cooperate with the authorities, be it by granting him political asylum and providing cover to protect him from the MFS. The DST actually made him such an offer. But the agent who says he is motivated among other things by "a little bit of GDR spirit" did not accept.

He might have to pay a high price for it. The most likely outcome of the court proceedings is the one he is most afraid of: expulsion from France and consequently, deportation to the GDR.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN REPORTAGE ON EAST BERLIN SYNOD

Exhortation for Faith Affirmation

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Apr 80 p 6

[FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE article datelined 13 April, Berlin: "Christians Urged To Make Clear-Cut Profession of Faith--Bishop Schoenherr's Address to the East Berlin Synod"]

[Text] In the opinion of East Berlin Bishop Schoenherr it is wiser for Christians to make a clear-cut profession of faith than to use excuses and subterfuges. A clear-cut profession of faith is respected by those who ask them for their convictions. In an address to the Berlin-Brandenburg church's East region synod, currently in session, Schoenherr referred to a declaration of one of his diocese's district synods in which "from the midst of the GDR society's everyday life" it was stated: "Nowadays, profession to one's church carries a different weight from what it used to; it takes courage to do it. It is often difficult to block out certain fears, although there has been some relaxation on the part of the state." But the Christian's worst enemy is not dialectic materialism, nor the restrictions he has to live with, "but his lack of profession of faith."

According to the bishop, fear and keeping quiet aggravate the situation for Christians in the GDR. "If, for instance, parents back their children, the difficulties diminish." What matters is that "the Christians' presence become noticeable," that they "present their own case in the discussion," and thus "can have an enlivening effect on the political desert." Challenges for it exist everywhere. So, in school, in military service, or on the job the question is asked how it is that someone is a Christian. Young people and intellectuals in particular want to know "what we have to say that is special and unmistakably different from what others say."

In the church administration's report to the synod, it says that among young people in the GDR an increasing interest in the church is noticeable, even among those who until now have hardly gotten to know the church. The young people want to find out for themselves "what the church does, thinks, and represents." This became particularly evident at last year's extremely

well attended Land-youth-days. The church must "pay special attention to this new turn of today's youth towards it." In doing so, the introduction of unconventional means should be possible. In this connection, the church administration emphasizes explicitly that in its view participation of artists and scientists at religious events would appear to be perfectly sensible even if they are not Christians, "as long as they respect their Christian character."

Supplementing the church administration's report, synod member Furian from Zossen took the floor as a member of the church administration to comment on a part of the report, discussed but not decided on by the church administration, which dealt with the question of equal rights of and equal respect for young Christians in the GDR's state educational institutions. He talked about the "phenomenon of a hardly-understandable discrimination we so often encounter." The situation of children of Christian parents varies greatly, running the gamut from being treated correctly and with understanding to individual burdensome cases such as obstacles put in their way in connection with admission to institutions of higher learning.

As regards the relationship between Church and state, Furian, himself active as superintendent of the Zossen church district, said that since the talk 2 years ago between the governing board of the GDR Association of Churches and state and party chief Honecker, the wishes of the church "especially in the material area," have been met by the state authorities more generously than in previous years. As examples he mentioned the regulations formulated in the meantime concerning Protestant kindergartens and cemeteries. He also said that the regulation of pastoral care in state old-age homes and recreation centers, as well as in penal institutions, is on the whole satisfactory. In the sector of public education on the other hand, the state-Church relationship has hardly changed at all. These developments signify for him that the state is still counting for a long time to come with the "institution of the Church."

#### Interest of Youth in Religion

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 14 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum (Berlin): "'Bible Hours' With Stefan Heym Are Especially Popular--Synod of GDR Protestant Church Calls Upon Believers To Exhibit Courage of Religious Convictions."]

[Text] "You and I will not have it easy to implement at the grassroots level what we have agreed on today." This is a confession which was made on 6 March, 1978 by the SED top man, Secretary General Erich Honecker, to the first man in the GDR's protestant church, the bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Albrecht Schoenherr. More than 2 years later, the incident has now been made public--in front of the Berlin-Brandenburg church's eighth synod, in session last weekend in the East Berlin Stephanus Seminary.

Honecker, so reported Schoenherr, had at that time "taken him aside" to confirm what had been agreed on before. In essence: Christian young people and children of Christian parents are to be completely equal in GDR society.

A member of the church administration, Superintendent Hans-Otto Furian, made the following tailored-to-reality observation on the prospect: "In this area, one can find everything, understanding for Christian children" as well as "comments to the effect that church engagements are not welcome" and even "some burdensome cases such as remarks entered on grade cards and obstacles in connection with admission to institutions of higher learning." But now, cases are also on record where after discussion with the proper state authorities, a positive clarification can be attained.

Although the party has not issued a directive to implement the accord between state and church, any protestant Christian in the GDR can still refer today to these agreements since they constitute the official party line. If clarification in individual cases have not been possible, Furian says, then "this is so in part because the parents who bring their complaints to the catechists and the clergymen want to remain anonymous,

In his talk to the synod, delivered this time in front of the church congregation of East Berlin's Advent Church on Dimitroff street, Bishop Schoenherr called upon the believers--and not merely by chance at this particular time either--to make a clear-cut profession of faith. This, he said, would be wiser than to use excuses and subterfuges. For the Christians' greatest enemy, he said, is not dialectic materialism nor the restrictions the Christian has to live with but the lack of profession of faith.

The "certain degree of atmospheric relaxation in the relationship between state and Church" (Furian), to be sure, has not led to an increase in the number of those who profess officially to be protestant Christians in the GDR. The Advent Church in East Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg section, for instance, covers a parish of 50,000 to 60,000 inhabitants, of whom only 10,000 to 12,000 can be counted as members of the congregation.

But the situation among young people surely looks different from that of the "normal" congregation members. "The interest in the Church among young people, even among non-Christians who so far have hardly gotten to know it, is currently on the rise," succinctly says the Church administration's report. Thus, at the Thuringen Land-Youth-Sunday in Eisenach last year, 10,000 young people congregated; the time before last, in 1976, there were only 6,000. And even in rural areas, thousands of participants attended youth events.

Conversations with 18-to 20-year-olds in the GDR explain why among many young people in particular, Church events are in demand: "Here one can risk a frank word without immediately having to count on disadvantages." These young people who so far have been strangers to the Church and have



also been so educated, apparently want to find out for themselves what the Church thinks, does, and represents.

In special demand are events that involve authors and particularly those--like Stefan Heym or Klaus Schlesinger--who at the moment are not well looked upon by the SED. When they add a propelling force to a Bible class or worship service, the churches are filled to capacity, even if it had not been advertised. "The grapevine functions," of course also when Christa Wolf, Frank Mathies, Volker Braun, Stephanie Hermlin, Guenther de Bruyn, or the songstress Bettina Wegener make their appearance.

The state authorities are not particularly happy about these appearances for which no permission is required. But they are controversial, even among young Christians in the GDR. While some welcome the fact that thereby young people, who up till then did not want to have anything to do with the Church, at least enter a house of worship, others grumble that during the prayer or sermon a number of people get up to smoke a cigarette outside the door.

The Berlin-Brandenburg Church Administration has resolved this conflict in its report to the synod as follows: "It seems sensible to the Church administration that artists and scientists, even if they are not Christians, participate in religious events, as long as they respect their Christian character. Their contributions, which reflect human wisdom, grievances and hopes, can serve to make the goals of Christian worship services more understandable, in light of the present situation." But it must of course remain clear that Church events serve to arm people for testimony and service as mandated by the gospel.

#### Church Concerns, Criticisms

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 17 Apr 80 p 6

[epd (Evangelical Press Service) article, datelined 16 April, Berlin, "Uneasy About 'Communist Education'--Protestant Synod Consultation Concluded"]

[Text] The Berlin-Brandenburg Church's East Region Synod expressed concern that the concept of "communist education" has been introduced anew into the since recently valid GDR school regulation. In a resolution approved by the synod by a large majority, it expressed the expectation that at the level of the GDR Association of Churches an exchange of views with the GDR Council of Ministers on the meaning of the concept will come about. It is moreover to be investigated to what extent the concept of communist education corresponds to the revised 1968 GDR constitution and to the GDR's education law.

After 5 days of continuous consultations at the East Berlin Stephanus Seminary, the synod concluded this year's convention on Tuesday with

numerous resolutions. Also under discussion was the fact that the holding of prayer and devotional meetings in old people's homes and care centers was not yet possible everywhere, as it had been promised by the state some 2 years ago. In a resolution on deacon-work in the Berlin-Brandenburg Church area, the synod complains among other things about the fact that in the past few years children's day care centers and parish nursing stations have repeatedly been closed because not enough coworkers could be found. As can be seen from the report submitted to the synod, there were in 1979 in the East region of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church a total of 106 kindergartens with 3,700 children, as compared with 127 kindergartens in 1974 in which 5,500 children had been cared for.

The synod labeled as "retrogression" the proposal to bring about the desired closer community within the eight Protestant Land churches in the GDR by means of formation of a united church, expressly based on the Lutheran Augsburg denomination. Such a proposal was made recently by the Thuringen Church Administration. The synod justified its rejection of the plan by pointing to the long development process which in the Berlin-Brandenburg Church had led to a "deepened association between the Lutheran and the reformed congregations." To this must be "emphatically" added, says the official comment, "that the reformed tradition in a united Protestant Church must be recognized as having equal value and equal rights."

According to the synod's opinion, an "improved church association" would suffice for organizational questions which have to be solved on the road to a larger congregation. With a view towards further work on the denomination question, the need for greater delegation of authority and for expansion of tasks requires, to be sure, that the goal image of a unified Church be maintained. According to the synod's view, the agreement on questions of basic theological principles, reached so far, is an adequate basis for granting the future community the character of a unified Church.

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STATE PROSECUTOR INTERVIEWED ON PUBLIC DISCIPLINE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Apr 80 p 3

[Interview with Dr Tibor Levai, Supreme State deputy prosecutor general, by Josef Fahidy: "On Strengthening Discipline"]

[Text] Dr Tibor Levai was born in 1926 in the town of Vecses. After completing his secondary school studies, he continued his studies at the Law School of ELTE [Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences] as a member of a people's college. He obtained his degree in 1952. After that, he worked in the National Planning Office for three years. Since 1955 he has held a number of jobs in the prosecutorial apparatus: he was chief prosecutor of Baranya megye, then head of main department at the prosecutor general's office. Since 1976 he has held the job of deputy prosecutor general. He is the author of a number of legal studies and popular works. He is an active participant in law-related public activities. He is an honorary university docent.

Janos Kadar, the first secretary of the party, in his report to the 12th Congress of the MSZMP stated: "Prosecutors and courts are doing a good job in guarding socialist legality, defending public order and protecting the constitutional rights of citizens." State and civic discipline together with conformance to rules of behavior laid down in law are indispensable prerequisites for human coexistence and orderly, organized and effective work in all areas of building our society.

Discipline means conforming to written or unwritten rules and regulations whose job it is to ensure successful operation of communities and organizations. How do we measure up to this goal and what are the areas for improvement? These were the questions our reporter, Jozsef Fahidy, posed to deputy prosecutor general Dr Tibor Levai.

[Answer] According to our constitution, every law enforcement organization, state administrative authority, police, prosecutor's office and court has a

highly important responsibility to educate citizens to respect laws and show responsibility. Present experience shows that the overwhelming majority of citizens are aware of the requirements of socialist morality.

[Question] Yet, knowledge of legal provisions is rather sketchy; not everyone conforms to them voluntarily.

[Answer] In the course of their everyday operations prosecutors are often presented with cases where citizens show lack of discipline and attempt to break or get around the law. On the other hand, there are also frequent cases where law enforcement authorities, economic organizations or various institutions involved in arbitration of disputes behave in an illegal manner. It is very important for authorities responsible for guarding legality to pay constant attention to trends in discipline, its effects on legality, to find out about breaches of law and to do everything in their power to prevent and remedy them, when they occur.

[Question] What is your judgment regarding state discipline?

[Answer] I think it is important for legislative organs to do their job in a suitable manner and at a desirable level and for law enforcement organizations to conform to legal norms as well as enforcing them. Delays or postponements of legislation are liable to cause uncertainty in the legal area. Legislation that is not sufficiently specific might lead to errors or even ad hoc interpretations of law. Overregulation, on the other hand, can have the unintended effect of tying the hands of law enforcement and eliminate the possibility of fairness and discretion.

[Question] In the area of law enforcement, is administrative discipline up to standards?

[Answer] Our experience shows that procedural rules are consistently adhered to. In spite of this, there are a number of recurring undesirable phenomena. Our investigations found cases where authorities do not conform to allowable deadlines with regard to annuity, support or inheritance contracts, or pay scant attention to fulfillment of contracts. Records of investigations are often mere formalities. There are also frequent delays in collection procedures; often there is reluctance to apply resolute measures. There are cases when there is reluctance to issue collection orders against undisciplined citizens who refuse to pay their taxes because "in the view of the case worker, that would be inhuman."

As a result, the lawbreaker is often let off scot-free and the disciplined taxpayer is upset seeing this. Some specialized authorities fail to make sure that their resolutions are implemented; they keep setting implementation deadlines without any basis and they fail to apply legal sanctions even in cases when they are clearly indicated. For example, they issue repeated warnings to illegal squatters instead of taking measures to remove them from the apartments they occupied illegally.

Construction authorities must prevent building activities that are against existing regulations; when the need arises, they must take resolute measures.

[Question] What is your experience regarding civic discipline?

[Answer] We are pleased to find that discipline is improving. We investigated about 100,000 resolutions containing coercive clauses: citizens obeyed 80 to 90 percent of them. There were not many cases where compulsion had to be applied by authorities. In the case of annuity, inheritance or support contracts mentioned above, most of the breaches of contract occurred because the parties undertaking to pay such supports were reckless or fraudulent enough to assume obligations which they were unable to live up to. This led to serious damage to the persons receiving support. Such cases often lead to legal suits.

Those who break construction regulations often assume that if they create a fait accompli then state authorities will be forced to compromise and they will be let off with a modest fine. Others are resisting valid resolutions by authorities by filing a deluge of unfounded appeals and complaints with various state and social organizations to delay the enforcement of lawful resolutions or verdicts. These cases require civilized but resolute action by state organs precisely in the interest of the law-abiding majority.

We also find many refractory cases in the enforcement of court judgments regarding payment of child support, alimony and parental support. There are some who avoid payment of support by taking temporary jobs. Since garnishment of wages is not possible, the state is forced in these cases to advance child support payments. The prosecutor can act to enforce payment obligations and, in addition, has the right to institute criminal proceedings against the lawbreaker.

[Question] One of the burning problems of the present day is the lack of work discipline. What are the measures you consider advisable in this area?

[Answer] Some workers break work discipline occasionally. If education and material incentives are ineffective, the employer must use lawful means of coercion to strengthen discipline. One must keep in mind, however, that the strengthening of discipline involves more than just disciplinary procedures. If workers see bad work organization, irregular supply of materials, indiscipline in cooperation and the fulfillment of contracts, this might have a major influence on the attitude and discipline of workers. In such cases the disciplinary sanctions provided by the Labor Code are not sufficient.

When there is justification for starting disciplinary proceedings, a great deal of attention must be paid to ensuring that resolutions are both lawful and realistic. Careful differentiation is needed in deciding when such



measures are necessary, who should they involve and what kind of resolution is best. There is no place for leniency toward hard-core recidivist troublemakers. On the other hand, it is not desirable to impose serious punishment on those who go astray and commit other acts of indiscipline. Discipline in the workplace may be strengthened not so much by the harshness of punishment but by the inevitability of detection and accountability.

[Question] Nowadays a great deal is being said about the necessity of improving economic discipline and planning as well as the organization of the purchasing, production and marketing operations, cooperation among enterprises and, in general, contract discipline. What is your experience in this sphere?

[Answer] Unfortunately, there exist economic contracts that are not being carried out according to the original agreement. We frequently see quantitative and qualitative substitutions, modifications after the fact or abrogation of contract which can interfere with the completion of investment projects or consumer supplies. Since the new Civil Code came into effect we have seen some improvement in this area.

Enterprises and cooperatives are often lax in keeping records on their contracts and are therefore unable to monitor their own performance or the performance of their contracting partners. For this reason, they are frequently unable to enforce their lawful claims even in cases when they could and should do so. Laxity of economic discipline can be seen in cases where enterprises fail to enforce claims which are repaid fully or partly out of state budgetary funds and the enforcement of claims is compulsory in case of breach of contract.

We found cases where those responsible for social wealth showed unbelievable negligence in their handling of cases involving criminal damage. The courts found in favor of the enterprise but nobody cared about collection of damages.

[Question] What is the situation regarding expropriations?

[Answer] In some cases the owners of expropriated properties ask for and receive much more for their real estate than what it is worth. State organs often remain passive in such cases instead of taking a stand against exorbitant judgments and for realistic compensation. On occasion this has to be done by the prosecutor's office.

## RESIDENTS EXPRESS VIEWS ON COMPETENCE OF LOCAL COUNCILS

Budapest ALLAN ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian No 4, Apr 80 pp 289-299

[Article by Dr Gyula Papay, secretary of the executive committee of the Beves Nagy Council: "Citizen Opinions About Council Work"]

[Text] At the most recent readers' conference--held in Hajdu-Bihar Nagy--it was recommended that in the future so-called thematic issues should appear in our journal.

We are satisfying the request of our readers for the first time. We compiled the present issue on what is now one of the most important themes of council administration, the simplification and modernization of council work.

It is gratifying that in this respect we are greeting many young council workers or first-time authors. With respect to this we also publish in this issue items voiced at the National State Administration and Justice Affairs Youth Days held in 1979--the majority of which belong to our theme.

1.

In our socialist society it is an indispensable condition of council work that the citizens actively participate in public affairs and express their ideas, will, opinions, proposals and cooperation and that the council organs recognize, process and make use of these. This constitutes one of the foundations for the effective functioning of representative democracy and without this the executive apparatus could not function in such a way as to gain and hold the understanding and support of the citizens.

Thus the council members and the apparatus workers must be well acquainted with the life of the workers, must have a clear idea of their mood, their positions, their activity and needs. This is necessary so that the opinion of the workers can be implemented in practice and so that, in an awareness

of this, we can improve and perfect the mechanism and methods of guidance, including council organizing and administrative activity.

Obviously this requires broad and continuing information. The members of the representative organs and the workers of the council administrative apparatus have many ways to acquire this information. And there are many ways and places to use the information acquired.

Since the opinions of the citizens represent one of the achievements of, concomitants to and starting points for the further development of council work it is justified from the viewpoint of practice to periodically analyse in a summary way:

- what possibilities the council apparatus has to learn the opinions of the citizens,
- how these possibilities are used,
- what content the opinions have, and
- how use is made of them.

We carried out such a survey and evaluation in Heves Megye and this summary contains those experiences judged to be most important.

## II.

Citizen opinions pertaining to council work could be grouped in many ways. On this occasion, in the interest of easier surveyability, we examined only whether information acquisition was direct or indirect for council members and apparatus workers. In the latter case the acquisition of information is secondary. This grouping is justified by the fact that direct opinion acquisition can also be called contact with the citizens.

1. According to our classification the possibilities, forms and substantive components of direct knowledge of citizen opinions pertaining to council work are the following:

a. The nominating meetings preceding the election of council members. The some 7,000 nominating meetings held in our megye at the time of general elections are a significant opportunity for debating developmental questions of city and town policy, for the exchange of mutual information concerning the needs of the citizens and the possibilities for meeting them and for evaluating council work. The citizens do make use of this opportunity too, as is indicated by the fact that about 15,000 voters usually express their opinions at such times. The processing of the questions which come up at the nominating meetings is an important task of the apparatus and of the council to be elected and they carry out this task. The system developed

for this is a good one and the bodies and the administrative organs become acquainted with the opinions and proposals and, in necessary cases, they give answers to the citizens.

The majority of the questions, because of the nature of the nominating meetings and on the basis of earlier practice, pertain to developments which the citizens consider necessary in the future, primarily to improving the level of communal services, and to a certain degree they provide a program for the council members being elected. According to our experience this one-sidedness should be reduced, providing broader debate possibilities by extending the content of the nominating meeting reports to providing information on the activity of the bodies and apparatus, to an evaluation of the execution of the several tasks and to a critique of the administrative activity of the apparatus. The achievements should be used more courageously as arguments and for political effect but one might also indicate more profoundly and more concretely the problems, the organizational and operational deficiencies and the behavioral problems of the citizens.

Thus, according to our experiences in the megye, the nominating meeting is a good occasion to become acquainted with the opinions of the citizens and their content could be further developed in the indicated direction.

b. The elected council members become acquainted with the multiplicity of opinions pertaining to council work on the occasion of everyday meetings with citizens in residential areas, places of work and other spheres, meetings directed by them but frequently also of a spontaneous nature. In general the council members make good use of these sources of information and a significant number of the citizens opinions deriving from these meetings are passed on via interpellations at meetings of the bodies or on the occasion of meetings with officials and administrative workers. The use of information from these sources in the form of interpellations takes place to a larger extent in the local councils and to a substantially lesser extent in the megye council. In general the council members pass on this information at their own initiative. There are still few initiatives by officials for informal talks with council members on the occasion of which information thus received could be communicated.

It is the general experience that on such occasions they do not talk to the council members about the achievements of council work but rather about its dark side, the deficiencies and errors and the difficulties of getting official work done; this is justified by the fact that this does call such things to the attention of those responsible.

c. The council members also meet with the citizens within the framework of their organized reports; these meetings also are opportunities for the citizens to express their opinions. Unfortunately these council member reports are frequently formal but they do provide certain opportunities for citizen expression. The theme at such times is most frequently the housing situation.

Not many touch on the administrative work of the council at the council member reports; this is largely due to the content of what the council members have to say.

It seems justified for us to deal more profoundly with the council member reports because they are indispensable tools for the realization of council member responsibility and for strengthening democracy, but their effectiveness is decreased by the citizen interest in them.

The passing on and processing of the questions which come up at the report sessions is well ordered and only rarely does the council member not receive a response in time.

d. The performance of special commissions assigned by the council gives the council member a good opportunity to become acquainted with the opinion of individual groups of citizens. Experience shows that a council member work group assigned to prepare an agenda point for the body brings to the surface very many, worthwhile and useable opinions on the occasion of its work and investigations. The debates of the agenda points thus prepared are lively. This also shows that the council members satisfy concrete assignments with great responsibility and know how to judge individual questions in their social interdependencies. On such occasions they discover the opinions of those in the interest of whom or in connection with whom council administrative work as a whole is done for in the great majority of cases the administrative organs indicate only the internal organizational interdependencies and the pertinent causes and expected consequences but frequently not the effects which can be expected from the planned decision and not the citizen opinions connected with these.

It has become the practice for the council to entrust to its committees the preparation of individual agenda points or supervision of the execution of the decisions reached but the work committees created for this purpose do not receive tasks in individual questions. In our opinion this method of work should be used because this is an opportunity for the further development of council member work and it plays a significant role in learning the opinions of the citizens.

e. The work of the council committees or the work of the council members in these committees also provides an opportunity to become acquainted with the opinions of the citizens. If the committee works well the professional structure of it makes it possible for the members of the committees to acquire and make use of basic information. There are lively debates in committees which work well with such methods of preparation and the clash of interests, with knowledge of the opinions, largely takes place here.

In addition to the good experiences, however, it cannot be said that the council committees are well used tools for learning the opinions of the citizens; there is much to be improved in this area. The participation in



committee work of experts who are not council members means a great deal because they have the task not only of participating in the sessions but also take part in all the committee work, including broadening the sphere of information.

The majority of the megye and city council committees participate usefully today in learning the opinions of the citizens, in passing on and making use of these opinions, but the town council committees still find it difficult to find possibilities for carrying out such tasks; they need more help from the officials.

Very much useable information is collected in the council member groups--in the joint town councils and in the megye council alike. The council member groups of the associated towns do a good job in bringing together the opinions of the populace in supply questions and in questions of administrative services to the populace and they represent these in a determined manner in the sessions of the body. Learning the opinions of the populace is a significant motif in the activity of the megye council member groups in preparation for decisions by the body also and the organization of this is aided by the fact that the majority of their members are also members of the local council.

f. According to the Council law members of a local council can convene meetings of their constituents. The council members do not do this very often but in certain questions this would provide an opportunity for learning opinions in greater detail.

g. Every year more than 1,000 citizens speak of their experiences, observations and proposals at village meetings. Thus this institution is well proven in regard to the themes coming on the agenda, but open, frank opinions are also voiced affecting other areas of council work. Previously it was the custom here also to deal only with developments but in recent years the functioning of the supply and service organization and sometimes authoritative administrative work have been increasingly on the agenda. The majority of the citizens' observations deal not with achievements but rather with problems and deficiencies so conclusions can be drawn, from the opinions and from what is said, pertaining to certain areas of council work.

It is gratifying that in most cases the opinions expressed are motivated by communal interests but frequently--and this is not really a problem--the individual interest of the person expressing the opinion is contained therein also. The statements not only express demands but frequently also offers of cooperation.

The recording, processing and utilization of statements made by citizens at village meetings has been systematized. Many examples could be given in which council actions followed statements or proposals voiced at the village meetings.

The city district meetings organized in cities are also suitable for expressing opinions and the citizens do this too.

h. In general the citizens criticize the handling of authoritative council matters at the reception days of officials.

The great majority of the questions coming up at officials' reception days in the cities deal with housing problems. The problem here is not the action of the council organs but rather the difficulty in satisfying housing demand. In addition they mention construction matters and, recently in rather large numbers, guardianship and juvenile visitation problems. Citizen opinions in connection with this are, understandably, very subjective and passionate, and they frequently expect from the authorities solutions to questions in which legal means can only help but cannot represent an entirely valid solution.

i. According to a practice which developed in earlier years the members of the executive committee meet with socialist brigades and the workers of individual sections in various factories and cooperatives and, in addition to informing them about timely questions of services to the populace, ask their opinions about council work. The expressions of opinion here are very objective, wide ranging and useful. It would be useful to continue and further develop this source of information acquisition.

j. Letters written by citizens to the councils contain many useful observations and positions. Often they deal not only with private matters but also with questions affecting a smaller or larger community. There are citizens who express in such letters their appreciation for measures taken. These letters merit great attention.

k. The regulation pertaining to reports, complaints and proposals of common interest has encouraged the citizens to express opinions pertaining to council work too. According to experience this possibility is used in most cases in the interest of remedying private affairs and there are fewer reports which are really in the common interest or contain matters affecting the community. These also should be treated as sources of useful information and, in addition to opinions pertaining to the settlement of individual matters, conclusions can be drawn from them concerning the areas in which such matters arise in larger numbers.

l. Petitions demanding authoritative decisions by council organs, appeals against first instance decisions and requests for review also contain opinions pertaining to council administration. In most cases these observations suggest that the action was not sufficiently circumspect, did not disclose all the facts. We draw essential conclusions about authoritative actions from the statistics on authoritative actions and from the regular annual survey of certain questions of legal policy principles in the application of the law and we inform those applying the law at the council level about these conclusions for the purpose of reducing the errors which are

made. Thus these opinions of the citizens can and should be used not only in connection with the given case but also as an aid in discovering the weak points in council administration--after the subjective elements are filtered out.

Although there is not a large proportion of appeals and requests for review in the megye in comparison to the matters taken care of by the council organs this should not delude the administrative apparatus. It is well known that there is a type of citizen who will never acquiesce in a decision in connection with him and immediately goes everywhere with his problem, outside the council organs. It cannot be denied that there are cases in which further investigation or measures are needed in connection with repeated requests for review, but this is not characteristic.

m. The client service offices provide a good opportunity for becoming acquainted with citizen opinions. These are used by large numbers of citizens whose verbal statements there or whose opinions in writing are a characterization of council administration. We consider it a good method for the leaders of administrative organs and council officials to personally attend some of these client receptions and ask for opinions from the citizens about substantive and formal questions of administration.

The registration book maintained there is also a useful tool for getting to know the opinions of the citizens in connection with the operation of the client service offices. There are condemnatory observations too but the many appreciative observations show that the citizens have received favorably this form of meeting.

n. We also use inspections to learn the opinions of the citizens. It is now the practice in the complex investigations of local council organs to ask the opinion of individual citizens about council work as a whole, about the functioning of the institutions and about administrative work--in addition to questioning the representatives of the various organs.

Experience shows that it would be useful to extend this method because the sum of the opinions characterizes the council work as a whole. Those questioned judge the council work very realistically, mentioning both its achievements and its deficiencies.

o. Public council meetings are not yet sufficiently used to learn citizen opinions about council work. It seems useful to invite certain groups of the populace or their representatives to attend council meetings (Council Law, Section 32, paragraph 1) and ask for their opinions.

2. The method of questionnaire opinion surveys also has a place in council work for the purpose of learning the opinions of the citizens. We have used this in the megye on several occasions; this happened most recently in 1978 when we inquired about council authoritative work. We sent questionnaires

with a letter to those citizens who had had authoritative cases. We asked for opinions from about 150 clients in whose cases the administrative organ of the executive committee of the megye council had made the decision and we also asked about 250 clients in whose cases action had been taken by administrative organs of local councils.

The questionnaires were divided into thirds, going to parties whose requests had been approved by the administrative organ, approved in part or rejected.

We also sent questionnaires to attorneys, legal advisers and leaders of legal aid services operating in the megye who had constant contact with council organs in the course of their official duties. We asked the leaders of about 40 non-council factories and enterprises working in the megye to communicate their experiences and we also questioned the party secretaries of the factory primary organizations.

In the letter we told the addressees that it would be a great help in a critical analysis of the authoritative actions of the council if they would inform us of their experiences and observations in connection with the council administrative organs by filling out the questionnaire. We formulated the goal by saying that we wanted to use the opinions thus collected in the interest of improving the authoritative activity of the council.

The questionnaires sent with the letter to the various addressees contained identical parts but we posed additional questions to the enterprise leaders pertaining to council contacts and to the lawyers pertaining to a more general evaluation of council legal activity.

In this way we sent out a total of about 500 questionnaires of which nearly 70 percent were returned. We did not ask for signatures on the questionnaires sent to clients.

The processing of the questionnaires showed that the social judgment of the authoritative administrative work of the councils could be called favorable.

The opinions gathered show, in sum, that:

--The professional preparedness and knowledge of the law of the council officials was judged by 96 percent to be satisfactory and by 2 percent to be deficient or unsatisfactory. (This ratio is a little flattering; it is our own opinion that the situation is not so favorable.)

--The method in which matters were handled was judged by 95 percent to be courteous, businesslike and objective while 5 percent judged it to be indifferent, high-handed and bureaucratic.

--The activity of the council administrative organs in establishing the facts, including bringing in the clients, was judged satisfactory by 75 percent and unsatisfactory by 25 percent.



--In regard to the time spent in the office, 80 percent estimated that it took an hour or less while 20 percent estimated it took more than one hour. For 80 percent this did not cause a loss of work time; 15 percent estimated the loss of work time at less than 4 hours; 5 percent reported a loss of work time of one or more days.

--In regard to the wording of the decision, 90 percent found it easy to understand while 10 percent considered it taciturn, elaborate or hard to understand.

--In the measures taken by the authoritative organs 73 percent did not find while 27 percent did find arbitrariness, bureaucratic procedures and stereotyped methods. Considering that the questionnaires were not signed we do not know precisely the sources of these evaluations; still we consider this ratio excessive even if it is obvious that such observations were made primarily by those whose affairs were settled in a way unfavorable to them.

--Protectionism or unprincipled procedures were experienced in the authoritative action by 9 percent of those questioned while 91 percent did not.

--The speed with which the matter was handled was judged satisfactory by 70 percent but 30 percent judged it to be slow; in some concrete cases they indicated delays of several months.

--In regard to appeals against first instance decisions, 50 percent submitted appeals in order to exhaust the possibilities for legal remedy guaranteed in the regulations and 50 percent did so because the facts had not been properly established, because of legal errors or because of incorrect interpretations.

--They also made a number of useful suggestions and recommendations in connection with the authoritative action of council administrative organs, improving official work and simplifying and modernizing state administrative procedures.

The survey results and the citizen opinions on the questionnaires show not only a developing level of authoritative administrative activity but also the fact that a mechanical, routine application of the regulations is no longer sufficient; the citizens expect more active, thoughtful application of the law in the service of the community from those council workers applying the law.

The opinions written on the questionnaires definitely show that the citizens follow with lively attention the authoritative administrative activity of the councils and have opinions about it. Going beyond the substantive questions of the decisions, the cultured nature of personal or written communications between clients and council workers is playing an ever greater role in the opinions of the citizens. They made favorable observations on the flexible action of young officials who have suitable professional preparation.



There were also observations pertaining to the adjustment of state administrative procedures, primarily because of their complexity, bureaucratic aspects and over-regulation. It was felt that the procedures should be made simpler and better adjusted to development and everyday life.

In the opinions of the enterprise leaders there was an expression of the necessity of broadening council contacts in the development of settlement policy goals, in a more systematic, mutual exchange of information, in manpower management, in environmental protection and other areas. It is worthy of note that in the majority of cases the council decisions were considered helpful to the work of the enterprises but a relatively significant number said that these decisions do not appear in the work of the enterprise. It should be taken as a warning that the majority of the leaders questioned did not feel that the supervision of the execution of the decisions in connection with the enterprises was consistent; they felt that this supervision was only casual or not adequate.

The opinions received from the attorneys, legal advisers and lawyers providing legal aid services substantially agreed with the judgments of the clients for the same questions but in addition they called our attention to other questions. It was unanimously noted that the council organs did not obstruct the full provision of legal representation and that they dealt with the legal aid service with special care. A just demand was formulated in this regard, that the organizing and service character of state administration should be put even more in the foreground, as should the full execution of the corporate and administrative decisions.

In addition to the questionnaire request for opinions we held direct talks with the members of six socialist brigades about council work. The experiences showed that this is a very useful method. In the course of a frank expression of opinions the great majority of them spoke with recognition about the council's conduct of business and about the behavior of the apparatus workers. There was one who mentioned delays in issuing a construction permit for a family house and others mentioned insufficiently well founded information. In these talks several objections were made to state administrative decisions, primarily because of their excessively official formulation, making them difficult to understand.

The socialist brigade members questioned felt that the link between the populace and the council had strengthened noticeably in recent years. In their opinion it meant a great deal that the populace received adequate information about council plans at council member report meetings and village meetings and that the problems of supply development were discussed frankly. The members of the brigades questioned were happy to assume residential area social work too.

We know that our questionnaire opinion survey sample--as is true of other such methods--did not entirely cover the material to be examined, it provided partial data and the circle of those questioned was insignificant compared

to the number of citizens coming into contact with this council organization each year, or even each day. We also know very well that it is very difficult to precisely determine with the tools of a sample survey the entire scale of opinions existing on some question in society. It is also obvious that the groups questioned do not reflect real groups of society so we cannot be entirely sure that the results obtained faithfully represent the picture of council work actually existing in the opinions of the citizens.

It still seems, however, that such a small sample is useful too. The results should not be evaluated by themselves; rather they should be compared to information obtained by using other tools for learning citizen opinions. We feel that the questionnaire method essentially confirms other information, referring it to cases, and we feel it could be used in the future too.

3. The indirect possibilities for learning citizen opinions are also very numerous. These include:

--Very many useful observations and recommendations concerning council administrative work are made at various party forums and party information meetings. Many appreciative and critical observations too were voiced during the discussion of the guiding principles of the 12th congress. Some of these necessitate central measures but some are aimed at improving local work. These also show the increased interest and attention of the party membership toward state administrative activity.

--The programs of the social organs--the People's Front, the trade unions, the KISZ--offer information possibilities too. The exchange of information in cooperation with these organs is on a broad scale and many citizen opinions reach the council organs through them. The majority of the observations concern settlement development and supply questions. It is the practice for those responsible to answer such information and opinions reaching the council organs in every case and this gives incentive to others. The experiences which can be generalized should be used within the framework of cooperation conversations too.

--The corporate reports of non-council organs and the conversations serving joint realization of settlement development plans also provide an occasion for the representatives of these organs to give their opinions not only about questions of an investment nature but also about other aspects of council activity. This possibility is not yet exploited with sufficient preparation and purpose.

--The meetings of the residential committees also surface a number of citizen opinions. These are almost exclusively questions affecting the residential committee community.

--Court experiences and attorneys' investigations acquired in state administrative matters are also useful in the interest of learning citizen opinions. It is thus important that good working contacts with the court and attorneys'

organs be permanent and that they mutually inform one another about the implementation of the legal policy principles of the application of the law and about the reception by the citizens of the application of the law.

--The development and spread of the legal aid service and its close contact with council organs are a new and good opportunity for learning about matters within the council sphere of authority which concern factory workers and about the effects of council actions. This is used well in practice; cooperation in settling various cases and the communication of experiences which can be generalized are ever more frequent.

--Citizen letters and reports in the public interest to the People's Control Committees and the people's control investigations are also indirect tools and possibilities for learning the opinions of citizens which should certainly be used. Although a good number of the citizen reports point to some deficiency, neglect or violation of the law even these are sources of useful information.

--Many citizens turn to the press, radio or television for the purpose of remedying felt or real grievances and in these letters they frequently give opinions about council work. These letters are usually sent on to the council organs; they frequently contain very subjective statements and the authors do not give the real or whole situation but only those circumstances which offend them. Still, they merit attention for through them we can feel everyday problems and gauge the mood of certain groups of workers.

### III.

The meagre analysis of the possibilities of learning citizen opinions and of the content and use of these opinions proves that these manifestations are increasingly discovered, evaluated and taken into consideration in the representational tasks of the council members and in the state administrative work of the council administrative organs.

It is important, however, that in the future the council organization deal even more profoundly with those aspects of reality which have formed the citizen opinions. These can be causes within the council organization and outside of it.

At the present time--as is well known--there are fewer possibilities for satisfying demands connected with the organization of supply but to a certain extent this can be counterbalanced by a style of work which necessarily develops further by making use of the helpful intentions of the citizens in the realization of communal tasks, changing them into more active deeds. To accomplish this there is need for a greater degree of outside organizing work by the council bodies and apparatus.

There are instances and manifestations of council administrative activity which are not favorably received by citizen opinion which can and must be

resolved locally within the framework of modernization and simplification. The pertinent megye and local plans serve this but going beyond these plans there must be a further development of local initiative.

Experience also suggests that the information provided to the citizens is not yet of the desired magnitude or content. The demonstration of achievements and the comparison of the several ideas and proposals not only with the needs but also with the possibilities of realization are not yet sufficiently definite or organized or reported on broadly.

It is not enough to be aware of opinions pertaining to council work simply by recording the opinions and various feelings, one must also go from them to those social relationships which led to the formation of the opinions. In this area also we must naturally be aware that opinions are not simple reflections of council work; rather, they are formed by very many various factors of a complex and contradictory character. It is thus essential that we do not always equate the opinion about the fact with the fact itself. The news organs which influence public opinion could help much in this also.

Citizen opinions take a stand in connection with the activity embodied in council institutions and thus play a supervisory role also. In this way the workers actually participate in the administration of social processes and supervise them in an organized way. We should make better use of this possibility. Within this framework--experience shows--we must seek more information from the citizens in the future, asking them not only about the existing situation but also about the common tasks.

We must request the opinions of the citizens more and on a broader scale before making proposals for practical decisions in which the citizens or certain groups of them are directly interested.

Our analyses also unambiguously show that a continual awareness of citizen opinions pertaining to council work is an effective possibility and method not only for the realization of representative democracy but also for the realization of direct democracy.

The Heves Megye experiences show that the opinions about council work reflect reality. We find in them the achievements, the deficiencies and the necessity for further development and they show the activity and the readiness for development of the council bodies and apparatus in the awareness, analysis and use of citizen opinions pertaining to council work.

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CSD: 2500

## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

**RALLY MARKS AFGHAN HOLIDAY**--To mark the imminent second anniversary of the Afghan National Democratic Revolution, a solidarity mass rally was staged on 23 April by the Hungarian Solidarity Committee and the National Peace Council at the Bakeszaba agricultural machine factory. It was addressed by Bela Kovacs, secretary of the PPF National Council and secretary general of the National Peace Council. Dura (Shahar Nazari) secretary of the Prague Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan conveyed his government's gratitude to the Hungarian people for their sympathy with and support of this country's revolution. (Sami Safi) made a speech on behalf of the Afghan students studying in our country and the Afghan People's Democratic Party. [AJ260728 Budapest; REF/ARMADAC in Hungarian 24 Apr 80 p 4 AI]

**PERUVIAN AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL**--Pal Lomnici, chairman of the Presidential Council and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received in a farewell visit Guillermo Ballesteros, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Peru, who has permanently departed Hungary. [Text] [Budapest HAVAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Apr 80 p 4 AI]

CRO: 2300



DOBROSIELSKI INTERVIEWED ON POLISH FOREIGN POLICY

AU300931 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODZYCH in Polish 26-27 Apr 80 p 3

[Interview with Dr Marian Dobrosielski, undersecretary of state of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by SZTANDAR MLODZYCH, date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] What are the unchangeable and unshakable principles of Polish foreign policy?

[Answer] The basic principles of our foreign policy were worked out by the leftwing and progressive forces of our country as far back as the years of the Hitlerite occupation and in the first days and months of freedom. The programmatic declaration issued by the Polish Workers Party in 1943 under the title "What Are We Fighting For?" proved the need to closely link the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for social liberation, asserted that future Poland's domestic and foreign policies must be consistent with the needs and interests of all our people and argued the necessity of a breakthrough in our relations with the USSR. The declaration outlined a program for the Polish people's return to the Odra, the Nysa and the Baltic and presented a vision of Poland's consolidated independence, sovereignty and development along the road of socialist construction and in fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

The principle of socialist internationalism, which is the foundation of the development of fraternal relations among the states of the socialist community was, is and will be the unshakable principle of the foreign policy pursued by people's Poland ever since its creation.

The other basic principle that has been enriched by people's Poland in theory and practice and has been consistently implemented by it from the very beginning is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different political and socioeconomic systems. The principles of socialist internationalism and peaceful coexistence are closely related, complement each other and create a dialectic whole. The implementation of these principles serves the interests of all the nations in the world, the interests of peace, the increase in mutual trust, the struggle for halting the arms race and for disarmament and the struggle for political and military détente.

They enrich international relations with new values and qualities along the line of democratizing and humanizing these relations.

[Question] How has the world received Edward Gierch's proposal that a conference on military detente and disarmament should be held in Warsaw?

[Answer] Perhaps it is first worth stating that Comrade Edward Gierch's proposal at the eighth PZPR Congress that Poland is ready to host a conference in Warsaw on military detente and disarmament in Europe represents a development and a concrete shape of the proposal put forward by all Warsaw Pact states in Budapest last May and detailed in Berlin by the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers last December just before the NATO decision was made to produce and to deploy in the FRG, Britain and Italy qualitatively new types of nuclear missiles threatening the security of Poland, other socialist countries and all Europe. It is common knowledge that the NATO decision has helped to radically deteriorate the international situation and the East-West relations and was a painful blow against the policy of political and military detente.

The socialist countries have refused to be provoked and to take the line of military confrontation or accept the new arms race and a return to the cold war. Absolutely defying imperialism's efforts to exert pressure, they reaffirmed with determination and dignity that they would continue to consistently implement the policy of peace, detente and disarmament, a struggle that is crucial for the development of the world is now taking place. Reacting to various imagined protests, imperialism is seeking to impose on the socialist countries and Europe the policy of confrontation and cold war and of further intensifying the arms race. The socialist countries are resolutely opposing these attempts. They continue to unequivocally advocate the policy of peace, detente and disarmament. Their actions are in line with that.

I have spoken at length about that problem, but I think that only in such a context is it possible to fully understand Edward Gierch's proposal as an expression of the determination of Poland and other socialist countries to follow the policy of detente and to make specific proposals to strengthen detente. We have to state with great satisfaction that Edward Gierch's proposal has been understood in Europe and in the world in just that way. It goes without saying that the response to that proposal has differed from country to country--from complete support, great admiration, respect for its motives and courage through various doubts. However, no government has rejected it. At the same time, I wish to warn against excessive optimism and to state that very tireless, difficult and probably long work awaits us before the proposal is implemented.

[Question] What are the chances that the Madrid meeting will be held in view of the present development of the international situation?

[Answer] As you know the Belgrade meeting of the CECF participants decided that further meetings of CECF states would be held and that the Madrid

meeting would begin on 11 November 1980 and that it would be preceded by a preparatory meeting starting in Madrid on 9 September 1980 to determine the necessary conditions for the main meeting. Today it is difficult to foresee how the Madrid meeting will develop.

The issue has been complicated because 1980 is an election year in a number of countries, above all in the United States and the FRG. It is common knowledge that the election campaigns in these countries encourage the individual candidates to boast that they are tough and irreconcilable vis-à-vis the alleged "communist threat" and that it is necessary to promote armaments. It goes without saying that such a state of affairs does not benefit East-West relations, but there are still 7 months to go before the Madrid meeting and much can change in the meantime.

[Question] How do other nations see us? As an experienced diplomat and intellectual, how do you evaluate our country's place and role in the world? What is world opinion's image of our country and what primarily determines this image?

[Answer] How do other nations see us? I have spoken on that subject several times already and I would not like to repeat myself. In July 1979 the ITO carried out a poll on the subject and also questioned me. I said that our people's interest in "how do other nations see us?" was a specific kind of complex or obsession and was definitely exaggerated.

In our work we should be motivated primarily by what is right, honest and true and by what best serves our best current and long-term national interests and not by what other countries may say about us, not by what may flatter those countries and not by their evaluations of us. Of course, I do not wish to give the impression that we should be indifferent to what others know about us and to how they see and evaluate us. We can learn a great deal from such evaluations and draw many correct and useful conclusions and pointers for our activities. Much less do I advocate that we should cut ourselves off from the world. On the contrary. Perhaps we should change our interest in "how do other nations see us?" to the interest in how these other nations solve some of the problems and difficulties we are struggling with and, without giving up our own searchings, perhaps adopt the examples and lessons offered by some of these nations.

Our country's development is not possible in isolation from the conditions of the development of the international situation and the system of strategic-military, geopolitical, economic and ideological forces in the world and especially in Europe. Nor is it possible in isolation from our people's past and historical experience, aspirations and ambitions.

## CONCEPT, ROLE, FUNCTIONING OF SLIM EXAMINED

Grainow STUDENT No 6, 13-14 Mar 80 p 4

[Interview with Sylwester Ławdzki, by Robert Kucowski]

[Fact] Robert Kucowski speaks with Assistant Professor Dr Sylwester Ławdzki, member of the Polish Sejm, sixth and seventh terms, professor of constitutional law at the University of Warsaw.

[Question] Reflection upon the essence of contemporary Polish and socialist parliamentarism has a position toward the opinions of many western journalists and political scientists who frankly question its existence. Professor, what is your attitude toward these views?

[Answer] To tie parliamentarism exclusively to a model based on the so-called free play of political forces is incorrect. Parliaments—if I am to start by using historical arguments—existed long before the appearance of political parties. Likewise, no one questions the existence of parliaments during feudal times, when the lower classes which composed the overwhelming majority of society were deprived of the right to vote and of influence on the parliaments' activities. The essence of parliament does not, therefore, depend on the things about which bourgeois theoreticians speak; it depends on whether, and to what degree, it expresses the actual interests of society and whether in the interests of this society it supervises the administration's activity. From this point of view one may have reservations about a model based on the free play of political forces, which under capitalist conditions assures an emphatic advantage for classes and strata which control the means of production. Such free play does not undermine a socio-economic system based on private ownership, but when it becomes a threat to it...

[Question] When it comes to an attempt at overstepping boundaries which are designated in the objective sense by large capital....

[Answer] It ends simply. The case of Chile was a classic example of this kind of practice. Moving on to our realities—the lack in socialist

parliaments of the free play of political forces, understood in bourgeois terms, which is primarily linked with the new structure of socialist society, does not stand in opposition to, and does not exclude, the possibility of deputies' representation of various opinions within the framework of the socialist program. On the contrary, there is a widespread conviction that during the transition from a government by proletarian dictatorship to a government of the whole nation there arise—but are not necessarily immediately fully taken advantage of—even better conditions for the expression of various opinions and views. These attend in a varied approach to the economic, social and legal-institutional solutions in the question of which of them best serve socialism and the interests of working people.

[Question] What matters are involved here?

[Answer] I would point, for example, to the appearance of differences in the matter of the solving of social and economic problems, mutual proportions of centralism and decentralization, the tempo of social changes, the degree of enterprise independence, and departmental and broad views of problems.

[Question] The Sejm should also be seen as part of a system of representative organs....

[Answer] You pointed out a very interesting feature of socialist parliamentarianism, which is tied to the multi-layer structure of socialist representation. It is a fact that people's councils are the Sejm's local counterparts. At the same time, the Sejm constitutes a characteristic superstructure of the system of people's councils and broadly widens the public's representation, at the same time making the representative system into a more comprehensive instrument for public control of administration—although to date it has not been fully taken advantage of. In the Polish organizational model, representative institutions, which are part of indirect democracy, exist together with non-representative institutions, guaranteeing the citizens direct influence on state, voivodship, gmina, industrial plant, village and residential affairs. A particular role is played in this area by organs of labor and cooperative self-government and the self-government of residents of cities and villages.

[Question] I am of the opinion that their importance should continue to grow, both from the point of view of insuring the greater effectiveness of the system of leading a socialist society as well as from the point of view of the state's fulfilling organizational-educational functions in a manner even more excellent than up to the present.

[Answer] Among other characteristics of the socialistic parliament, I would draw attention to the combining by deputies of public functions in parliament with professional work. This type of "non-professional" parliamentarian is associated with the placing of special emphasis on the bonds between deputies and society.... Nevertheless, it also has a bearing on parliament's



forms of working and on its search for the most effective methods of operation, such as improving the work of standing committees, in order to insure the Sejm's working character and to influence the effectiveness of its work. Of course, not everyone realizes that in the course of the four-year Sejm term there was a meeting each day of one of the 33 standing subcommittees.

[Question] Connected to this is the problem of mutual relations between the Sejm as the legislature and the government as the executive.

[Answer] In considering this problem, one must not overlook the fact that in our governmental circumstances the Marxist-Leninist party gives political direction to the work of both the Parliament and the government. Parliament and the government both work to carry out a common program for building socialism. It does not mean, however, that under those conditions the importance of the Sejm's constitutional functions is reduced.

[Question] What changes are occurring in this area?

[Answer] Normative statutes of the greatest social importance are considered by the Sejm. An example of this was the passage by the Sejm during the seventh term of laws concerning retirement pensions and other services for farmers, a law concerning the protection and improvement of the natural environment, as well as a law concerning the Supreme Administrative Court and the modification of law—a code of administrative procedure. Drafts of laws are incisively examined by the committees. During the sixth term the committees submitted 1,900 amendments to the drafts of laws, a fact which attests to the magnitude of the job as well as to the range of influence on the content and form of legal documents. Thanks to the Commission on Legislative Work, there was an increase in the Sejm's sphere of control over the implementation of laws and in its influence on law-making in general.

Following, at 1,130 meetings of the committees during the seventh term, they examined an enormous number of matters, taking a critical attitude toward negative occurrences, negligence, and manifestation of bureaucracy. The result of committee consideration of crucial matters connected with the implementation of the housing program, the food program, health services, etc., was the approval of 400 desired items and 280 opinions containing numerous stipulations and propositions directed to the government and individual ministers.

[Question] This creates a basis for affirming the growth of the Sejm's role.

[Answer] The Sejm, as representative of various social classes and strata has, thanks to its make-up, a greater possibility of obtaining knowledge about the current state of public opinion regarding government projects and is a forum for confrontation of different opinions, especially during

committee meetings. Furthermore, through its supervisory functions it can contribute to the best possible implementation of decisions which have been made. From this point of view, the importance of parliamentary procedure is growing and its further improvement is needed. This means a more complete linking of the democratic and efficiency principles in the proclamation of law, as well as in the preparation of the best version of the socio-economic plan and the budget. The prospect of further growth of the Sejm's role in the ruling structure is, therefore, not an accidental phenomenon, but is the result of the objective requirements of social growth and of the improvement in methods of guiding it. There is no doubt, and this is proven in practice, that decisions taken with the participation of society contribute to an increase in the citizens' feeling of sharing in the responsibility for governmental matters, and consequently to a greater public involvement in their implementation.

[Question] In capitalist nations, in the USA, among others, one may encounter the concept of "pressure groups" which represent various social, economic, and professional groups in the parliamentary sphere. Can this concept be applied to the clubs and circles of the Polish Sejm?

[Answer] I am opposed to its application, among other reasons because of the negative connotation of favoring of particular approach and giving it priority over society's interests. The approach of party clubs and deputies' circles in the Sejm is dominated by the broad social point of view, though doubtless there is some specialization in representation of interests of specific social groups. Thus, the United Peasant Party for obvious reasons places significant emphasis on the problems of agriculture and the food program, while at the same time it supports the policies of national industrialization and urbanization, which are promoted by the Polish United Workers Party. In the work of the Democratic Party great emphasis is placed on the development of services, small-scale industry and crafts. Likewise, Sejm representatives of Catholic circles pay special attention to problems of relations between the State and the Church and the implementation of the constitutional principle of freedom of conscience and religion--in the same, however, of carrying out general goals which are the guiding light of the National Unity Front. Despite its specialization, each of the aforementioned representative forms of specific social groups or specific interests places the broad social interest at the forefront. This is especially true of the Polish United Workers Party, of which I am a member. In representing the most progressive and at present the largest (since it includes 52 percent of the population) social force, which is the working class, it attempts to bring its interests into harmony with the interests of the entire nation.

[Question] What may be considered your greatest personal success in your work as a deputy?

[Answer] Bringing about, at the end of the seventh term, acceptance by the Sejm of amendments to the administrative procedure code. I headed the

legis' subcommittee on matters concerning the Code of Administrative Procedure. The result of its work, inspired and supported by the Presidium of the Polish United Workers Party Club, was not only a broadening of the scope of social insurance but also the introduction of an initiative which has had great support in legal circles for the past 25 years. Its goal was to guarantee law-abidance in the administration's activities by initiating judicial control over the legality of administrative decisions. The creation of a Supreme Administrative Court (together with its regional branches) strengthens the right of the citizen to the protection of his own rights and as a result is a considerable step forward in the achievement of human rights.

[Question] In Premier Edward Babluch's speech there was the statement that the government and the entire state administration are vitally interested in the proper shaping of relations between the government and the citizen and also in cooperation with social organizations, among others. What is your opinion, as a person who sees these problems from the point of view not only of a scholar and deputy but also of a co-founded and the first head of the Polish Student Association?

[Answer] I fulfilled these functions from the time of the Polish Student Congress, i.e., from April to December 1980; I then made the difficult decision in favor of scholarly work, that is, of work from the theoretical point of view on problems of democracy and self-government, which are my life's passion....

[Question] For the role of social organizations....

[Answer] In addition to the function of head of the Polish Student Association, I later was twice vice-chairman of the Main Administration of the Association of Polish Lawyers. It is for that reason that I also attach special importance to the question of social organizations' participation in the operation of socialist democracy. I gave expression to this in the work of the Committee on the Constitution, believing that the role of social organizations should be made to stand out in the Constitution to a greater degree than it has previously. I see a need for further expansion of this role in practice through the upgrading of social organizations by this means, thus bringing about a significant increase in their functions of representing the interests of various social groups. This is most strongly linked with the understanding of the Polish United Workers Party's leading role in the building of socialism and with its consideration of the need to represent, in a broader sense, social organizations. Connected with this is the need for greater emphasis on implementation of socio-ideological direction based on the principle of co-operation in partnership with these organizations. This would be an important factor from the point of view of strengthening the Party's dialogue with society and of instituting habits of alternative thinking.

[Question] The youth movement plays an essential role in social organizations....

[Answer] What I said previously also applies totally to youth organizations in their capacity as social forces which represent a large portion of the nation's population.

[Question] The upcoming eighth term of the Sejm will span half of the 80's, which we have already entered. How do you view the prospects and the most important problems which are before the Polish Sejm?

[Answer] It seems to me that while the Sejm has important achievements in legislative activity, I am of the opinion that an extremely serious problem is the expansion of its role in the final shaping of the plan and the budget, as well as control over their implementation. To this would be linked the matter of direct ties of the Sejm with the Supreme Chamber of Control, that is, close ties between the Chamber and the system of representative organs. Public consultations concerning planned laws which, until now, have not been employed, could become an important enriching element in the Sejm's plenary sessions. The positive value of this type of consultation was confirmed by the Sejm's debate about the plan for amending the code of administrative procedure.

[Question] During the proceedings of the Eighth Congress of the Polish United Workers Party your book, "Concerning the Theory and Practice of Socialist Democracy," published by "Książka i Wiedza," appeared. Sincerely thanking you for this conversation, I hope that the near future brings you new experience and success in both your scholarly and socio-political work, which some years ago was very intimately bound to the Polish student movement.

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CND: 2600

## FUTURE COURSE OF POLISH POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS EXAMINED

Paris KULTURA in Polish No 4, Apr 80 pp 70-79

[Article by Anatol Marek Lipiec, dated January 1980: "What Will Happen Next? Considerations for the New Year"]

[Text] At the beginning of the new year many people are certainly asking themselves about the further development of the situation in Poland. I also determined to occupy myself with this matter, and because the picture of the situation which I use in my practical activities permits me, as events to date have shown, to amuse myself to a certain degree with forecasting the future, I would like to share several of my reflections with the readers of KULTURA.

I get the impression that a certain proportion of my fellow Poles in the entire community, when they look at the development of events in the country from their own perspective, do not notice many factors which have a stabilizing effect on the internal situation in the Polish People's Republic (PRL). This is understandable in the context of as yet unfulfilled dreams about the rebirth of a free and independent Poland and from the point of view of the hopes which are linked with the anti-totalitarian and independence activity carried on in the country (I rather avoid the term "political opposition"), whose dynamism decidedly exceeds similar initiatives in the other countries of the Soviet Bloc. The extent and nature of the influence of the opposition upon the situation of society, taken overall, however, is shown by two articles in the December issue of KULTURA. (One of these articles is by this author.)

But before I move on to sketch out my pessimistically optimistic visions of the coming year, two more words about a certain literary review, of which I heard a part on Radio Free Europe (I turned on the radio too late). I do not even know who was the author (or authoress) of the review of MALA APOCALIPSA, but I heard that this was an "artistic regress" by the author and it seems to me that the authoress (I suppose it was an authoress) was led to these critical conclusions by the picture of Poland drawn by Kmiecik. Why? Because, instead of an oppressed nation which gallantly struggles with the Reds, what do we find in Kmiecik's tale? Bridges collapse and



trams break down and stop on the streets, and no one is especially concerned about this, everyone drinks, and two Genśeks (CPSU and PZPR general secretaries) spend the entire day passionately kissing one another on the lips. Against this dismal background we see a little group of oppositionists, who are "flesh of the flesh of this regime," and not the leaders of the nation in its struggle for freedom. Forsooth, a very disheartening picture; the reviewer did not like it and there, crone, you have a cake or rather, there, writer, you have an "artistic regress." The nub of the matter, however, is that Konwicki's tale, although visionary and timeless, is full of realism and if I were supposed to evaluate it, I would say that it is undoubtedly one of the most important works of Polish contemporary literature. Konwicki as a creator does a great thing: He opens up before himself (and not only before himself) new artistic horizons and a new perspective for Polish literature, and it would be difficult to overestimate this fact. Actually, I do not intend here to write about *MIA APOKALIPSA*, because my colleague Zawiat has already done so very reasonably in *KULTURA* and, anyway, he is more knowledgeable about literature than I am. I do, however, advise frequent readings of *Zhinoviev*, because this would be a very useful thing for overthrowing many myths about a society of the Soviet type, especially if one has no direct contact with such a society.

I return, however, to the question I asked in the title: What will happen next? The answer is surprisingly simple: Nothing will happen. The system will not collapse, a social revolt will not break out, the opposition will not go to prison, the PRL will not come out of its crisis, and even the first secretary will not change. I already hear voices of sacred shock at such defeatism and I already see the fists angrily raised over my head, but I ask for a moment of patience and I will soon confess all my sins and perhaps will even show that things are not so altogether bad and that it depends merely on how one looks at them and what one wants to see.

Modern history teaches us that Sovietism, when once introduced somewhere, will not fall without action from the outside. The second basic truth is that one can hardly see those who are especially concerned about what happens east of the Elbe, especially if they live in a system which, despite its various energy crises, is nevertheless somewhat more comfortable than our Soviet system. In a mood of blissful peace the West confirms the erroneous conclusion that the Western allies won the last world war. The truth, however, is that only the Soviets won that war, while the West (understood here in a wide sense as a civilizational community) already lost it in 1943, at Iehron. Europe lost that war, and Asia in its Soviet edition won it. Ten countries, of which more than half had for a century been part of Europe, came under the domination of the most inhuman system in history, and at the moment their chances for getting out of the "fraternal embrace" are rather minute. Without Warsaw, the eastern part of Berlin, Prague, and Budapest, there is no longer a Europe, only a miserable bite-size scrap which is, incidentally, served up in a sauce which is more and more clearly prepared of le monotone finlandaise.

Democracy, when confronted with totalitarianism, always loses, and a fresh example of this is the situation in Iran. America's helplessness in the face of the bandit methods of the Iranian "revolutionaries" is as embarrassing as it is inevitable. I would like to take this opportunity to point out that totalitarianism does not at all have to be atheistic, it can be religious, and in Iran it is patronized by a certain Ayatollah Khomeini.

And so the West does not notice certain rather obvious phenomena, such as, for example, the bull in the china shop. The bull here is the process of Soviet world conquest, a process which would, when completed, be equivalent to the interruption of the development of civilization, and this is not an overly uplifting prospect. They did, however, notice 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and this resulted in certain perturbations in the blooming policy of detente. It is too bad, however, that they did not notice the practical joining of Afghanistan to the Soviet Union somewhat earlier, during the government of a certain Taraki.

Let us, however, return to ourselves, to the Wlala. This entire long digression served only to show that the current balance of power in world politics simply does not take account of such things as the "Polish matter" and there is no point snivelling about it. Maybe some internal forces will stir themselves to battle and will at least sweep away the current and utterly disgraced team? Why, there was October, there was December, and after June the position of Gierk (and still more the position of Jaruzelski) seemed to be very uncertain. An extreme economic, social, and political crisis is an obvious fact. Can, however, this type of crisis, given the current policy of the authorities, cause an explosion? I agree with Kuron that we are threatened with an explosion of social anger except that this explosion will not take place. Powder itself is a dangerous thing, but a spark is still needed for an explosion. Kuron in his texts does not consider one important factor: The mentality of people living in this system. In June 1976, when Jaruzelski, after alleged "consultations," announced a price plan, disturbances swept over the country. Since that time, however, although the systematic rise in the costs of subsistence has long exceeded the ceiling then announced and although the queues outside stores are reaching gigantic proportions, things are quiet. That is precisely because of the lack of a spark, and the opposition, although it might want to, will not create it. (I refer back once again to my previous text in KULTURA). Here is revealed the mentality of people who have been formed by Sovietism: A complete lack of ability to articulate their own demands. The short and wild strikes which break out here and there, always over economic issues and the state of supplies in stores, can be, on account of their character, a warning phenomenon for the authorities, but not a dangerous phenomenon. Actually, they are immediately hushed up: The authorities yield, the earnings which were taken away are returned, and trucks rapidly bring the missing cargoes. L'ordre regne....

This crisis situation in Poland can be presented by using the example of the hypochloa, which comes closer and closer to its asymptote--in our case this would be a social explosion--but never reaches it.

And now the situation of the opposition, a very interesting phenomenon, because it is the only one in the Soviet bloc with such dimensions. Nevertheless, despite its dynamics, the opposition is not dangerous to the authorities, precisely because it does not have an influence on the situation of society. Simultaneously, the authorities are avoiding a definitive encounter, because this would worsen the already very doubtful international prestige of the Polish People's Republic, could injure economic contacts with the West (intergovernmental credits and loans), and would in some degree make the internal situation more tense. The stewards of the PRL do, after all, draw a certain profit from tolerating the opposition: In the West Poland passes for the most "liberal" (people, what liberalism and where?!) or at least the "most moderate" country in the bloc.

I have to confess that, after the arrests last December, on the authority of a prosecutor's warrant, of some 12-20 opposition activists, I spent a sleepless night considering what this might signify. This act fitted in very badly with the rather cohesive picture of the tactics of the authorities: ignoring the opposition and avoiding a large number of arrests. (I am not, of course, thinking about 48 hour detentions, because these are "normalcy.") No more than 3 days later, however, I became convinced that one has to be faithful to one's convictions: a decisive encounter with the opposition was not beginning at all, as many had thought. It was simply a preventive action, caused by preparations for honoring the memory of the victims of December. In a situation in which open celebrations of truly important historical anniversaries are more and more frequently undertaken, the authorities attempted in this way to give a warning signal: Moderate yourselves, or you will go on the same way! Obviously the authorities lost more than they gained by this, but that is their matter. I think, however, that searching for "symbolic" significances in this campaign, for elements of factional struggles or of a "Prague" variant (and all this before the congress), is useless. (Perhaps the congress, the shortest motto for the congress: "Congregate!") I think that it would be difficult, even in the party "wielkobuska" (big chicken), to find some faction which would want to take over power, simply as one wants to take under his control the hopeless situation in the country.

Thus we know very well the first secretary and his team will not change. Thus what is left to him. He hangs on to his stool, further begging in the West for money, unleashing servility toward the Kremlin, theatrical gestures toward society. ("This situation drives sleep from my lids," he said on television), and...tolerance toward the opposition, for the reasons which I mentioned above.

This does not mean, of course, that the Security Service will give the opposition a free hand. The sharpest repressions, however, generally have an "interventionary" character. This is true, for example, in the case of the Grunwaldyowski activist, in the case of Edmund Zadrozynski, imprisoned since July 1979. He had gained significant support in the worker milieu and was the spiritual moving force of the independent activities in the city,

that was too much for the local authorities. They determined to isolate him in some way from his milieu and he is shortly to stand before a "court" on absurd charges.

The authorities apply and will, I suppose, continue to apply the method of having misdemeanor courts give 1-3 months jail sentences; these are, however, repressions directed at individual persons, have an extemporaneous character, are intended "for encouragement," and are rather ineffective.

I get the impression that the only visible escalation of repressions is the fact that fewer and fewer people of outstanding social prestige are passing for "untouchable" in the eyes of the Security Service. The detentions of writers, academics, and artists are more frequent recently. Some of these actions are intended to paralyze the activities of the Society for Academic Courses. In Warsaw a search was carried out in the apartment of Czesław Miłosz (It is, Brute, fill...), who in his time had been one of the founders of the current system. Cases in which the more "militant" priests are detained also occur.

All these repressions, however, remain within the boundaries of the "norm," and I do not think that the authorities would, on their own initiative, undertake some more decided attempt to liquidate the opposition.

Much has been written on how the crisis in Poland cannot be overcome without a series of political and economic reforms. These reforms, however, can only be introduced by the authorities, and they are not very willing to do so. Perhaps they remember how the reformers in Czechoslovakia in 1968 came to an end?

I still have to dedicate a couple of words to the role and situation of the church. It was with a large dose of skepticism that I approached the various mystical predictions which swept many of the more optimistic heads after the memorable conclave of October 1978 and, to a still greater extent, during the period of the pope's pilgrimage to Poland. They were barely short of counting on their fingers the days left before the Reds fell. "Pray calm," I repeated, "the situation is stable and nothing will change." And I am more and more certain in my conviction that I would have a good career as a fortune-teller. It is a fact that, during the period preceding June 1979, the authorities gave more permits for church construction, but this "boom" [prop] ended rather rapidly. None of the major demands of the church (recognition of its legal status, access to the mass media, equal rights for Catholics in public life) has been fulfilled. The scandalous affair of the construction of a fast traffic road near the Jasna Góra monastery fills in the picture of the issue.

And what is left to the people from the pilgrimage of the Holy Father? I suppose I will never forget the atmosphere of those several June days, that feeling of unity, the community of convictions, and the mutual sympathy of people. It was not by accident that Władysław Bartoszewski compares this



period of the pope's stay in the country and the behavior of the people which it caused in the atmosphere in which Warsaw lived in August 1944. But now it turns out that the hope which the pope brought us is being faded in a sea of universal caring, in quinine and in vodka, and in curses against the indifference of every day. The emotions of faith is weakening in the face of the realities of the epoch.

Do we have a series of factors creating a situation which I would call the stabilization of the crisis. All of these things have to be counted among the positive factors of our Polish situation when we look at the New Year. But do some other factors exist? I think that they can be found; here, however, we must apply a rather qualifying opinion and must place it in a wider perspective. I would like to bring up several phenomena which perhaps do not seem much in comparison with the positive factors, but I think that they ought to be considered by the use of somewhat different categories.

Out of the publications in the country which are published beyond the reach of the censorship, there stuck in my mind two articles which, in my view, are a penetration of a certain insurmountable wall which had enclosed Polish political-historical thought within strictly defined limits. I think that what is at work here are certain two mechanisms, perhaps not fully conscious and not called by their name: all such impediments will exert a very negative influence on the role of free publicistice if the latter is to renew political thought, which has been choked for so many years by the gag of censorship.

The first article, written by Jędrzej Jędruski, appeared in the issue of *Wprost* dated October 1949. The author presents the thesis, and convincingly demonstrates it, that the Polish authorities made a series of errors after the Soviet aggression in September 1939, especially by not declaring war against the USSR and by giving the army the order not to resist the Red Army. I very much liked this, but, as I feared, USSR readers were inflamed with indignation and sent in a series of letters written along the lines of "How can one say such a thing?" and "This is a knife in the back." A knife in the back is a knife in the back, no one denies this, but I think that it is worthwhile looking at the isolation of the Polish authorities at that time without excessive emotions, which not infrequently have a negative effect on realistic analysis and assessment of phenomena. It was a great success of the author that he was able so skillfully to make use of the possibilities which the independent press gives. Jędruski's text is also distinguished by being something more than a straightening out of a piece of history about which communist propaganda has lied; it hits on an entirely new perspective for thinking about our history.

The second article which I would like to mention here is Stefan Kisielewski's "Has Geopolitics lost its meaning?" (*ŻYCIE PUBLICZNE* No 1). The author there introduces the "geopolitical" thesis that the opposition ought to wager on an agreement with Russia. Countrymen, do not boast me! I really very much dislike the Soviets, and I suppose that Kisiel also dislikes them. Again I



demand that we not yield too easily to feverish antipathies. Kisielewski's thesis, although unreal (because each of the sides simply does not want to talk), is realistic and is a major contribution to political thinking. We are still allowed to think and let us attempt to make use of this. While all programmatic texts take account of our dependence on Russia only in the sense that they say we must avoid Soviet tanks (and we must, I do not deny it), Kisielewski suggests that a living political force, namely the opposition, ought to take the place of the authorities, who are degenerated and have no support in society, and ought to undertake the labor of solving one of our basic national dilemmas. And I think that there is deep sense in this, because we will not, unfortunately, change our borders while, given a favorable arrangement of relations with Moscow, perhaps we also could gain something from this. A certain segment of the behavior of the authorities of the Polish People's Republic in relation to the Soviets is revealed by Kosmierz's article in BULETYN INFORMACYJNY No 7; this article indirectly supports Kisiel's concept.

And so in Polish thought I observe a certain invigorating ferment. Compared with the lack of basic consumer items, this does not seem like much. But let us remember that one of our main fronts is the struggle for the preservation of independent thought, because without political concepts and without an ever new rereading of history we will lose the continuity of national tradition.

And finally another phenomenon, also not noticed by many, but I think that it is unusually important. Two items written by official Polish People's Republic VIP's, Janusz Jablonski (the head of Geo-ZNAV) and Jan Garszpanski (a member of the Council of State), appeared in an edition of the London GONIMA. The value of both works is rather open to discussion, but that is not my point here. That is because this is a step, or rather a little step, toward a breaking of the barriers between that which is of the regime and that which is of the emigration. Perhaps on an everyday basis we forget how tragic is the significance of the division into country and emigration. The regime, of course, does everything which it can to isolate the emigration from the country (and vice versa). If we realize that only a couple of years ago publication in the emigre press brought rather sorry consequences in its train, then the fact that two representatives of the official establishment publish items in the emigre press which could not appear in the Polish People's Republic acquires a rather telling significance; it testifies that that division is not eternal and absolute and that even in this manner, the emigration can participate in the life of the country.

And since the discussion is about divisions, it is worth noting phenomena which, as it seems testify to the possibility of blurring the dichotomy between opposition and society, concerning which I wrote at greater length in the December issue of KULTURA. The discussion club "Experience and the Future" is a phenomenon situated, as it were, between official life and independent activity. I will also add right away two small bits of news: in the official United Peasant Party, especially in its local echelons, some

of the activists are undertaking initiatives not ordered from the top and which are actually beneficial to the situation of the peasants. And in Krakow a group of activists of the Socialist Union of Polish Students wrote a memorial to all the members of that organization. This document, in addition to a penetrating critique of the activities of the union to date, includes the demand that the organization be dissolved during an extraordinary congress and that a union associating all students be created in its place, without any clauses about ideology or world outlook.

All these phenomena show that there exists a possibility that the opposition will nominally cease to exist when it turns out that an oppositionist is the same sort of person as any other and that there is nothing extraordinary in what he does.

This also is why the blurring of divisions, concerning which I write above, creates chances for all those who feel responsible for Poland and for what happens here, and I think that this is not without significance.

So if I presume that "nothing will change," I am thinking about basic social or political changes. I think, however, that it is worthwhile to take an interest in other phenomena, superficially more trivial, but in my opinion very essential from the point of view of defense against Sovietization. It was not incorrectly that the aforementioned Zinoviev emphasizes that the so-called "dissident movement" is the most important phenomenon in the history of communism, because it shows that even from the inside one can oppose regimes of this type. That is why what is at issue here is not the anticipated effects; these are and will be modest. More important is the voice which condemns the practices of the authorities which diminish human dignity. In a situation where all the basic democratic freedoms are prohibited, every man is important who decides "to live without lies" and every free thought is important.

More political categories are perhaps useful for consideration of the development of the world situation. An optimistic feature is the fact that the West, although it continues not to see the Soviet bull in the world china shop, is beginning to see the broken cups; an example is Afghanistan. As I write these words, the Soviets have just used the veto in the Security Council against a resolution in the matter of Afghanistan. I suppose that the resolution will "pass" in the General Assembly, because the Soviet Afghan move is too crude. Brezhnev, however, smelled the writing with his nose and at any price he wants to locate himself solidly in the region of the Persian Gulf. This is an important step which strongly injures the Americans, who have stayed on the defensive the whole time.

The West, as it seems, is also beginning to notice the stunning tempo of Soviet armaments and their superiority in what is now more than one area. This is a little bit late, but better late than never. Voices in Western Europe are still appealing that [the West] not arm and that it negotiate with Moscow. I remind the authors of these opinions of an old poem by Remy: "The Congress of Pacifists, or To Catch A Thief."

The thief runs along the street,  
and shouts "Catch the thief."

To speak more literally:

The agitated shouters  
chase around the world,  
the Soviet pacifists  
about "Mir!" "Pace! Pace!"

And this Soviet propaganda shriek is spread precisely

so that they might cease chasing the thief,  
threatening him with vindictive battle,  
so that with everything he stole  
he might get away and live in peace.

This poem whose excerpts I have mentioned is a short, but good, Sovietology course utilizing mnemonics. It might come in very useful in the West, where the Finlandized United Nations is not even able to call the thief by name in its draft resolution. (The talk in it is only about "foreign troops" in Afghanistan.) We do not need Sovietological theories, because we are experiencing practical everyday lessons in this discipline. Almost no one, however, wants to listen to us, and they do not want to believe at all, because, as Kisieliwski said, "The well-fed does not believe the hungry (the hungriest now are the Poles. -A.M.L.), and when he believes him, it will already be too late."

A certain excitement is also called forth by the now advanced age and poor health state of the greatest builder of peace, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. What will happen after his departure? Let the Sovietological-politological staffs of the Far West reply to that question, because, after all, that is what they have been created for. (The West, although geographically in the same place where it has always been, is even more difficult for us to get access to because of a secret Political Bureau directive of last year, a prohibition on passports for "dissidents.") I ask you to remember, however, that Brezhnev has brought to perfection the Soviet policy of more or less peaceful conquests, linked to "detente," or the putting to sleep of the West and the confirmation at Helsinki of Moscow's hegemony in Central-Eastern Europe. And I doubt that anyone would want to give up this method easily.

In conclusion, then, again a pessimistic note, but--let us repeat with Kisiel--moderate pessimism is better than groundless optimism.

CSO: 2600

## GDANSK CASE STUDY: VOIVODSHIP GOVERNOR'S POWERS TOO LIMITED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 16, 19 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Danuta Zagrodzka: "What Are A Governor's Powers?"]

[Text] Suppliants believe that a voivodship governor is all-powerful, superiors believe that he is independent and his own master within his borders. But the governor himself? The general interests of the state, the specific interests of the area, as well as in the interests of the departments, institutes and organizations in each of the country's 49 voivodships cross each other. Even if the final goal of all of them is a common one, the paths leading to it are varied and not always convergent. It is precisely the governor who by virtue of his authority is supposed to force them into a common course and insure that local problems do not suffer and that the overall ones are not infringed upon. That is a devilishly difficult job. Can a governor cope with this task today? In his inaugural talk in February, Premier E. Babiuch said, "Arranging for the division of authority between central and local units, ministries and associations could be of great benefit," suggesting that the existing division is far from ideal.

Jerzy Kolodziejcki, governor, professor, doctor, architect, published a short study in the departments under him under the title: "What Can the Gdansk Voivodship Governor Do for the Inhabitants and in Administering the Voivodship without the Participation of Central Authorities?" The departments diligently collected everything they had in the plan for the year, and described that in many pages. It turned out, that perhaps the governor could not do very much.

Let us take production for the market place. Specifically, the governor can calculate accomplishment each month in the units coordinated by him which produce goods for the market.

In the field of transportation, the governor can undertake the production of trolley buses in the Voivodship Transportation Enterprise in Gdansk this year.



In the field of physical culture, the governor can make evaluations regarding the utilization of the sport recreation base and bring about better utilization and accessibility to the public. This matter was studied in Gdansk and it was determined that 2,000 hours in school gym rooms could be saved for the public.

With respect to the housing economy, the governor can resolutely require that everybody with a dwelling unit at his disposal must observe uniform principles in assigning such unit as provided by Resolution Number 24/78.

With respect to trade, in an agreement with the Voivodship Trade Union Council, in 1979 the governor introduced the sale of semiprocessed delicatessen items in 21 work establishments which employ the largest number of women.

#### IN HIS OWN WAY

In Gdansk, 135,000 families are waiting for housing of their own. This includes 25,000 young married couples who already have children and have not as yet had their own living quarters. The voivodship is below average with respect to room in schools, kindergartens, hospitals, stores and restaurants. The electric railway linking the Tri-City area, once famous for efficiency, is no longer capable of handling the area's transportation problem. The city has grown in size and the transportation situation is far from satisfactory. During the current decade 220 billion zlotys were invested in Gdansk--a refinery in Port Polnocny, and for expansion and modernization of the shipyard in Stargopod. Gdansk was third from the standpoint of investment expenditures, after Katowice and Warsaw. Half of this huge sum was expended on production, and the remainder on the so-called thick infrastructure which was essential not only for permitting suddenly expanded trade to operate, but also to lay the foundations in the next stage for goods needed by people for everyday living. Sewage treatment plants, heating plants, roads, tram lines were built. It would not, in general, have been possible to proceed further without them. Unfortunately, the second stage chanced upon a substantially less favorable financial period. The span between the development of the marine economy and the social infrastructure, particularly in Tri-City, an agglomeration of almost a million, today is very great and it is growing. More people are waiting for housing, there are relatively fewer stores and schools. This situation is an unpleasant one subjectively for those who are crowded up and waiting, but also objectively for the economy. The lack of housing and the accompanying social amenities causes the waste of social assets--as the result of a lack of workers, shift work in the Gdansk voivodship today has an index of 1.11; there has never been such a low index here before. At the Eighth PZPR Congress, Tadeusz Fiszbach, voivodship committee secretary and chairman of the Voivodship People's Council, said: "During the course of the report-election campaign, party members pointed to the negative social results emerging from disproportions in the development of the voivodship."



The problems in their entirety, properly documented will be found in the "Report on the Condition of the Dąbrowski Voivodship" prepared by voivodship authorities, which Stanisław Kania, the secretary of the Communist Party predicted will be examined by central authorities.

Actually, the governor can and even should call the attention of central authorities to the disproportions he sees in his area. Because of the lack of resources he has limited possibilities for equalizing them.

Frankly speaking, nobody is particularly interested when somebody makes an insistent demand. As a rule, disproportions will usually arise somewhere. They result from some general situation. The governor ought to understand that. He is expected to manage for himself in his own way.

In the capital I hear: "They have received so many authorizations; let them finally learn how to make use of them and cease looking constantly to Warsaw."

The crowning proof of the great authority of voivodships is the Voivod Status approved in January 1978. A bronze-colored booklet in a stiff cover with a gold inscription, it is a code of the authorities and responsibilities of the area's father. The governor's responsibilities as the representative of the government, the executive and managing organ of the Voivodship's People's Council and local administrative organ of the state are set forth in the booklet. From the contents, it appears that in practice the governor is responsible for everything living or dead within his area.

"If everything goes well, the plans are fulfilled and I throw out my chest for the medals," says Professor Kolodziejaki. "When things go wrong, I get it over the head, although actually, a substantial part of the economy functions under the outside-the-area system. For example, the Dąbrowski Construction Association has no obligations toward me officially because its supervisor is the ministry not I. Thus, I am responsible for something over which I have no influence."

"In the event of confirmation on the basis of information received and completed inspections of uncompleted plan goals, or disturbance of planned economy principles, uneconomic management, organizational decline and the appearance of other similarly negative types of phenomena, the governor activates all of the available resources for immediately countering such unfavorable phenomena as well as makes indispensable decisions about which he informs higher authorities." (Governor's Status para 2-3).

A lot and strongly stated. The governor can, for example, remove a director who has failed to keep an eye on things, or made a mess, or has not acquitted himself well. However, a smart governor is going to be very careful here because it is easy to make oneself ridiculous. A director who is suspended by the governor is sometimes unsuspended by department authorities who

failed to supply him with something, or who transferred his processing or production forces elsewhere. Conflict is then inevitable, something a smart governor will be avoiding. After all, he is dependent on departments in many essential matters.

#### WHO HAS THE AUTHORITY?

A governor has only as much money and means as he gets from Warsaw. All of his internal activities, no matter how nicely designated--consultation, coordination, planning--will be ineffective without an appropriate amount of resources, resources which he has to get. The more a voivodship needs, the more a governor needs to be a diplomat. It is true that plans are determined by the Planning Commission but the proposals come from the departments. The process of creating local plans is as follows: the governor presents his needs in accordance with precisely determined statistics. In his opinion, they are very realistic and also frequently higher than the Planning Commission's proposals. The Planning Commission allocates resources in consultation with departments. Thus, the basic planning phase takes place not at the time of assignment, but long before that in the ministries. Here all possible manipulations take place in order that the voivodship will receive as much as possible. Inasmuch as there are not objective principles for the allocation of resources, all are pushing, feeling aggrieved, and in various ways endeavoring to change their situation for the better. Thus, such a system immeasurably restricts the control and influencing of department enterprises enjoined by the "Governor's Status," and at the same time gives rise to an unhealthy atmosphere.

Can this be changed? Governor Kolodziejki, as an expert on spatial planning, says of course it can. It is but necessary to respect openness and uniform criteria for the allocation of resources by areas, for example, that construction resources depend on the number of people waiting for housing, the anticipated demographic growth, etc. This would set straight the situation existing today, and even if there were no more resources, it would eliminate the feeling of wrong which now sometimes accompanies an allocation. The Gdansk voivodship, for example, received an allocation of eight large automobiles. Did other voivodships receive only that number, and if more, then how and why--a question which a governor today asks himself.

One of the governor's essential authorities is the coordination of plans for all enterprises and institutions functioning in his area, and expressing an opinion about objects located in the voivodship. Decisions are sometimes undertaken contrary to that opinion. Central right predominates over local right. I ask the Gdansk governor to give me an example. He could but prefers not to in order not to offend anyone from whom the voivodship might be able to get help for so much which is needed.

Where then is that area of independence in which the governor himself governs? The communal economy, the educational systems, health service, culture, rest, as well as employment policy.

In Gdansk, coordination probably succeeds best in the field last named. I wrote some time ago about the local department of employment and what I said is being confirmed today--somehow I am making out all right. Even the best department will not provide people if they are not there, but it can be on the alert to ensure that those who are, get to where they are most needed. Thus, the department conducts constant analyses of work output in plants. In short, workers are not directed where productivity standards are strained, but simply are shifted elsewhere. However, even here there also are definite powers, up to and including severe financial penalties for acceptance without referral.

There is also success with culture, among others, in the area of good cooperation with a department which gives the voivodship full freedom of action. Here too, the governor gives funds only to those who are doing something.

They believe that they are successful in mastering the market, but to tell the truth, in a rather limited respect, because the number of stores is inadequate. There are still entire settlements without a single trade outlet and the supply situation is poor. Hence, coordination boils down to the maximum exploitation of existing stores. Actually, it is much easier to shop along the coast on a free Saturday than in Warsaw. It is also possible to shop there on Sunday. The merchandise, such as it is, is disposed of in a way to minimize deficiencies--this is done primarily by giving preference to cities where the needs are greatest. This is not just but as they say, it is essential. They manage with the lack of personnel in the field of services thanks to an efficient personnel department. All women freed from office work, everyone willing to work, and women who followed their shipyard worker husbands here are referred exclusively to trade and service jobs.

Cooperation with scientific centers is good. There is a regional program for the development of research. For example, Gdansk University scientists were commissioned to develop a model of the functioning of the social infrastructure in a voivodship. This is because demand stays the same from year to year in plans but things keep changing. Some needs die away while others arise and it is necessary to know this in order not to waste existing slim resources.

#### THE GOVERNOR MUST TRY

Therefore, if a good look is taken, then coordination and independence are a fact wherever much money is not required and where it is possible to manage rather than necessarily to create something new. As soon as investment enters the picture, then it is more difficult. In order for the Gdansk Voivodship economy to develop harmoniously this year it would need 1 billion zlotys. Resources are lacking particularly for equipping the area. In taking advantage of the maneuverability he has, the governor crammed everything he could into equipment, because otherwise the performers would leave.

Thus, there is now a lack, for example, of 200 million zlotys for the purchase of transport and accessories. It was necessary, however, to choose. The council approved the annual plan in session but only on condition that the necessary resources for equipment will be available.

This poverty is rather paradoxical if it is considered that, in essence, Odzka Voivodship is a land swimming in milk and honey, or at least ought to be. A powerful and rich industry, ports--a tried source of wealth--and tourists who pack the place leaving behind many millions. In a centralized economy almost all of these resources go to the public treasury and then some returns from it to the voivodship in the form of an equalizing allocation for the area budget. In 1975, these allocations on a national scale amounted to 40.5 percent, while today they amount to but 24.7 percent. The area economy is becoming more and more self-sufficient and that is good. However, its own resources do not fully enable development and it is at times necessary to obtain resources from the outside for that. Most of the money from the area budget goes for current expenses or for maintaining the existing structure. Hence, this is why additional funds, no matter what their source, are so important.

The allocation of resources takes place in accordance with trades rather than by areas. This was warranted and perhaps necessary during the great industrialization. It could be that a somewhat different distribution is in order today when people's living conditions are becoming more important than new machines. Should not, for example, a larger than hitherto portion of the national income remain in voivodships? If a certain portion of the resources produced in the voivodship by the enterprises and institutions working in it could be earmarked in fixed proportions for the development of that voivodship, would not that create incentives for activity, conditions for independence utilized for the benefit of residents and under their supervision?

It seems rather abnormal that even tourist enterprises transmit all of their profits to the central office in Warsaw instead of making improvements locally for the ever-greater number of arriving guests. The argument that such a circulation of money makes for better utilization is debatable. First, richer voivodships are better off anyway and get more, something that can be easily proved. Second, the central authority, of course, has the power to equalize excessive disproportions by more generous allocations, as well as according to precise criteria. After all, that is the way it is done in many countries. In my opinion, this is a key problem not only for the activation of regions but also for the effective utilization of resources.

#### CLOSER TO THE REGION

The closer resources are to the user, the better use can be made of them. Local authorities are under the direct pressure of needs eye to eye with the resident and it can be wagered that they will indeed prefer social interests.



A classic example of such a system of horizontal and vertical interest: after grandiloquent announcements about being ready for the season, it turned out that it was cold in Odanak right after the first frosts. Why? Because the Odanak heat and power generating plant was getting a bonus for the production of energy, not for the production of heat. Accordingly, it occupied itself with what was most profitable although its basic purpose is heating. Such a situation could not occur if goals were defined immediately. The same situation exists in construction, the ministry is much more interested in nationwide indexes and plans while the area is interested in each specific building and store.

It is true that many bad things can be said about various services and the area's investment inefficiency. The greater economic independence proposed by the premier should be an effective antidote for this condition.

This is linked with the problem not only of the governor's formal, but also actual authorities. Professor Kolodziejewski said that it is necessary to expand selective centralization, a formulation which appears to be very apt.

There are fields which must be managed from the top, for example, big industry, but there are many where decisions can be made successfully at the area level. Anyway, Premier E. Babiuch said so during an address to the Sejm. It seems that all direct services to residents ought to be decentralized to a substantially greater extent. Also, the cooperative movement, small industry, as well as State Farms. The latter, of course, are closely tied to their area even if by agroecological conditions. All of this, after all, was under area authority but slipped away under successive reorganizations. Propose still another reorganization to people--how awful! However, it could be that it will be necessary to again think about it and to adopt as the sole reorganization criterion what is the system in which a given activity can operate most effectively. Anyway, it must be said that, in general, people greeted the transition from area to central control--they were immediately showered with money. State Farms received allocations, and small plant workers got good salaries and new machinery. This confirms once more that the present allocation of resources is not perfect. In general, a bad beginning with respect to money does not result from necessity but only from principles adopted at one time. There is probably nothing to prohibit the airing of these principles.

I could be accused of trivializing the important problem of local authority by reducing it primarily to resources. Where are activation, autonomy, social deeds, everything we read about so much in the newspapers? Is that not important? I think it is very important, what is more, I am convinced that it would be worse if not for the large role which the governor and his apparatus play in equalizing that which will not be equalized, in encouraging, or in the end making ceaseless efforts relative to socially important matters. However, if the governor is to have greater significance, and local authorities are to fully manage their area, they need not only solid authorization but also resources and ability to undertake decisions in matters which are important for the area. It can be hoped that the still doubtful matters of area management will finally be settled within the framework of the announced improvement in state administrative and economic work of all levels.



## POLAND

### WAYS TO GAUGE, INFLUENCE PUBLIC MOOD DISCUSSED

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA in Polish No 4, Apr 80 pp 137-144

[Article by Leslaw Wojtasik]

[Text] Reaction to the public mood is inseparably connected with its recognition, which is perceived more as acquiring orientation than as grasping at facts in hard and fast numerical data; thus the investigation of mood differs from the investigation of public opinion, which can be determined by percentage indices. In such a situation it is better to use a description which requires the application of specific methods.

#### Recognition of Public Mood

In general, recognition of the public mood consists of two mutually connected sets of activities. The first task is to assure an adequate and rapid recognition of the mood at the primary organizational levels of society. The data on this subject must be quickly provided to central institutions so that they can be generalized, results can be extracted, and decisions can be made. The second set consists of actions which strive to accurately predict the possible rise of a certain mood. These two sets of actions demand the application of different methods, methods which possess, however, a mutually functional relation. The public mood can simply be defined as in a more general way as "good" or "bad." The possibility of gradation is limited because of its great susceptibility to external factors and the variableness which results.

In such a situation traditional methods of investigating public opinion, such as polls, sociological interviews, etc., are of little value in the recognition of moods. In spite of having been perfected, these methods are too "free" in communal

functioning. Thus, simple methods must be discovered which will allow the mood of social groups to be determined quickly. It is a matter of whether people who have no special training can use these methods.

Formation of the public mood depends, among other things, upon accurate prediction. Such prediction allows for negative moods to be counteracted and for positive moods to be reinforced. Such a prediction should be based on a familiarity with the state of society's consciousness on a nationwide scale, and this is possible only when based upon especially organized research.

There must be a close relationship between the groups of actions discussed above which relies on the controlled circulation of information between the elements which direct ideological-educational work and the political and economic apparatus. This circulation is possible in principle under existing conditions. It is simply a matter of the more efficient use of these conditions.

#### **Mood on Nationwide Scale**

The accurate prediction of the possible appearance of a definite mood requires investigation of pertinent data on the sources of that mood. It especially concerns a set of indicators which illustrate the present-day state of some elements of public consciousness, namely those which can in an essential way influence people's emotional state. Among these can be numbered: the level of public optimism, the level of the satisfaction of informational needs, the level of psychic resistance to the activities of an ideological adversary, the state of subjective reflection in the public consciousness of the general socio-economic situation of the country, and others.

The level of public optimism is a certain psychic state of the individuals who make up the community. Its basic elements are: a feeling of the stability of everyday conditions and social security, as well as the reality of personal plans which are dependent upon social conditions. Public optimism also reflects a high degree of confidence in the decisions of governmental and social organizations as well as conviction about their implementation. A high level of public optimism is a source of a positive mood.

Debatable (at least) is the thesis that the level of public optimism is entirely influenced by the material conditions of everyday life. According to this thesis, a high level of public optimism is achieved only when no perceptible difficulties

appear in socio-economic development. To be sure, the negative influence of such difficulties on public consciousness cannot be dismissed, but their influence cannot be said to be absolute.

The level of the satisfaction of informational needs is connected with the amount and quality of information which is disseminated by the channels of mass communication. It is a matter of satisfying these needs not on the private, but on the public level. A high degree of satisfaction essentially limits the functioning of uncontrolled factors which can cause the rise of negative moods (gossip, rumors).

The level of psychological resistance to the activities of an ideological adversary can be expressed only in written form. This is a state of consciousness which results from an individual's system of ideological, social, and political positions, as well as from acquaintance with the techniques and activities of the ideological adversary.

The subjective reflection of the social and economic situation of the country in the public consciousness is an especially essential factor. The falsifications which arise now and then can cause the rise of a negative mood or of an exaggerated euphoria. In such a situation the presentation itself, for example, is not enough to achieve social development in any area. It is a matter of encouraging the best and most objective reflection in man's consciousness of the reality surrounding him; this will permit this reality to be better understood and will limit the rise of a negative mood.

#### **Mood Information-Gathering Method**

A gauging of the present state of the public mood must take place on the most basic levels of ideological-educational work and in direct contact with the people. This is decisive in determining the character of the possible methods which can be applied. These must be simple operations, but effective nevertheless. It is also a matter of whether or not an already functioning system of ideological-educational work, including its basic constituents, can be applied to achieve this goal.

The possibilities of gathering data about mood can be found in the following: the organized activities of agitators, the copying down of comments in discussions at gatherings of various types, conversations between workers and managerial representatives of the political-administrative work and institutional establishment, and the observation of collective behavior.

Agitators are in contact with the people every day; they converse with them and they hold discussions. They should be the most familiar with what pleases people, with what produces satisfaction, and with what disturbs or irritates. Information on this subject can be unusually helpful in gauging the present mood of any social group. During systematically organized meetings with political and administrative management, it is thus necessary for agitators to be able to present their observations concerning the attitude of the people to present events, their opinions on the activities of various elements of organizational institutions, critical pronouncements on matters which concern their environment, etc. This reciprocal informational system allows not only for the gathering of data on public mood, but also points to the sources of dissatisfaction which must be eliminated.

Comments in discussions at meetings and training sessions which are concerned with, among other things, the functioning of the social institution or organizations to which the speaker belongs can -- if they are frank and genuine -- reflect the state of the public mood. Thus, they should be recorded in an organized way and used in order to determine such moods.

Conversations of representatives of political and administrative institutional management with the workers are part of the socialist style of managing a plant, an institute, or other collective. Such conversations can take place in an organized way, at meetings and assemblies, or in an unplanned way, at working positions, while the institution is in full operation. Experiments show that the principle of direct contact with the people is implemented in all plants and institutions, especially by the political authorities. Such conversations are characterized by a high degree of spontaneity and frankness.

Observation of collective behavior can furnish a great deal of material for gauging moods. This is especially so in observing behavior which is connected with the performance of occupational obligations. The attitude to work can be a good indicator of mood.

All the indicators described above -- treated separately -- have a causal character. However, if analyzed and worked out as a functional totality, they can provide adequate essential information on the state of the public mood.

#### Reaction to Mood

The public mood, in spite of the functioning of independent factors which bring about its rise, can and must be modified



to a certain degree. This does not require the organization of special operations, but rather the appropriate use of a general system for molding the public consciousness. These problems can be reduced to two levels of action: stimulating a socially desirable mood, and limiting and liquidating a negative mood from the point of view of the functioning of social structures.

As we have already mentioned, mood has a group character. The reaction to mood requires a great individualization of transmission. This is not always possible in the case of centrally organized reactions. Therefore, an essential role is played by organized reactions at the lower levels -- at the plant, in the commune, etc. -- and these reactions must be exceptionally effective. Certain problems in this area will have to be solved on the run, in accordance with the demands of the moment. It appears that one of the best means might be the use of a system of mass agitation and other methods of direct action which permit rapid and individualized reaction.

From the above, it is seen that the following elements are the most important in the reaction to mood: an ability to correctly predict the public mood under the influence of recent events. This would allow for the application of suitable activities which would prevent the rise of a negative mood or would limit its scope and intensity. Equally important is the capacity for the rapid and correct diagnosis of the mood of social groups or of the environment.

#### **Informational Processes and Mood**

Situations sometimes appear in informational processes when certain transmissions cause an effect in the public consciousness which is different from that which was intended. This phenomenon is called "the boomerang effect." In the case of mass transmission, this effect need not necessarily concern the whole of society. It is most often limited to several social groups.

The reception of informational transmissions during the winter of 1978-79 can serve as a typical example of this phenomenon. Everyone knows that at this time a great deal of drastic information was often transmitted concerning the economic and social effects of the severe winter. Against this background, a mood characterized by the mobilization of increased effort was observed in some groups, while in others the mood collapsed: the situation seemed so difficult and hopeless that any kind of counteraction was impossible.



This example shows that assumed informational effects do not always in fact come true. The structure and content of the transmission must be thoroughly reconsidered from this very point of view. Of course, this will not do away with the problem entirely, but it can limit its scope.

In discussing factors which influence the formation of mood, we have mentioned, among others, the activity of an ideological adversary, as well as gossip and rumor. We have mentioned also that gossip has its roots in society's inaccurate information concerning important events. In many cases the effectiveness of propaganda is also decided by the speed with which an attitude has been adopted to events which have just taken place. This is because the first interpretation of an event, its first version, attracts attention and most often is accepted as the correct interpretation, and remains fixed most strongly in the memory. Thus opinions are formed which can set up a psychological barrier to opposite reactions.

Within the activities of some mass information media there appears from time to time a tendency toward one-sided or abbreviated information about certain phenomena. It is held that the recipient of the information should be protected from the arguments which are presented by various points of view, because such argumentation can weaken or vitiate the effects of our propaganda. Such assumptions, however, even intuitively seem to be wrong, and this has been confirmed by experimental sociological research. One-sided information can cause a feeling of informational dissatisfaction and can produce in the recipient an impression of the intended tendentiousness of the transmission. In such situations some of the recipients can look for "more complete" information in other sources which are not always friendly towards us.

Information -- to use a figurative comparison -- has become the daily bread of contemporary man. Under such conditions one can talk about the communal functioning of a psychological need to acquire definite ideological or socio-political information, and this need must be satisfied, even when threatened by the appearance of negative social feelings. A system of mass information which furnishes information about political phenomena can do away with or limit these negative feelings. If we disseminate information about the environment which surrounds us, we feel ourselves safer in it.

Mass information media and propaganda are not in a condition -- due to the small capacity of channels of information -- to fully satisfy individual needs in the area of political information.

In this situation, the only reasonable solution is to determine the socially indispensable level at which the demand for political information is satisfied. This need not always be understood by the individual recipient. Thus, in investigating the level at which the demand for political information is satisfied, a relatively large group appears which judges the level of this gratification negatively. This can have a definite influence on this group's public mood.

In connection with this, a field of activity for a mass system of agitation emerges, within the framework of which there exists a greater possibility of satisfying individualized informational needs, and of answering questions and doubts.

#### Decisions and Mood

We have already mentioned that from time to time it is necessary to undertake decisions on different levels, which may not be completely acceptable to all sections of society. Such decisions conceivably may not be able to be avoided either at the central level nor at the executive levels. Before proclaiming such decisions, one should be able to determine what their social repercussions will be. If we manage to do it well, we can plan appropriate preparatory and forestalling undertakings. When, for example, a plant or an institution is reorganized, the necessity arises to undertake unpopular personnel decisions which affect employees' transferal and dismissal. If such decisions are announced without having prepared the staff ahead of time, the public mood in the collective may be influenced negatively. In implementing this explanatory work and in assuring that each person dismissed will get another job, we can limit the scope and intensity of the mood.

The need for predicting public reactions concerns not only decisions which are unpopular for a certain group, but also decisions which should have an unequivocally positive effect on the public mood. It becomes a matter of reinforcing this mood, and of extending its length.

A factor which in fact does modify the influence of different decisions on the public mood is the participation of those who are interested in its adoption. This is especially so with regard to decisions made by formalized social groups which possess representative organs. In some cases, in spite of the existence of these organs, the decisions are adopted arbitrarily by the administrative institutions. This, among other things, affects the functioning of governing organs in communities and the administration of these communities. The above represent

clinical examples of decisions adopted by the administration without taking into account the opinion of the inhabitants. Such actions have a truly negative influence on the mood of social groups. The conclusion is simple. The participation of representative organs on all levels of society can and must be put to better use than has been done until now in cooperative decision making concerning the development of the country and society.

#### Limiting Variable Factors

One of the courses of action in the formation of public opinion ought to be an attempt to limit the influence of variable factors. Predicting such factors is very difficult, and often impossible. Thus, there should be an attempt to form continuous social resistance against gossip and rumor as well as ideological maneuvers. This is a very complex problem and throughout the rest of this article we shall mention only a few of the elements comprising it.

Confidence in information disseminated by the press, radio, and television is one of the basic conditions for the efficacy of these media. This represents the cumulative result of the entire complex of the media's activity over a long period of time. Once this confidence has been achieved, all information disseminated by the media is accepted as trustworthy, even when other sources disseminate contrary information. This situation is achieved only if several conditions are fulfilled. The fundamental condition is the reliability of the information, and thus its veracity and completeness. Contributing to this is the long and systematic contact of the recipient with the given source of transmission (for example, constant reading of the same newspaper), as a result of which there arises a kind of emotional bond between them.

The building of confidence in information disseminated by the mass media is influenced as well when this information is confirmed by information disseminated by other media. No disagreement should appear in the exposition of the same problem in other media in a completely different area.

Psychological resistance of the citizens to the propaganda of an ideological adversary depends upon their patriotism, their devotion to the cause of socialism, and their confidence in the party and the government. The formation of such attitudes is a long term process which demands well organized educational and propaganda activity. Permanent attitudes of

this type are their own kind of "filter," through which pass the content of all propaganda received by the individual; content which is decidedly inconsistent with these attitudes undergoes essential transformation. This is especially so with various types of transmissions which are clearly in contradiction to the individual's attitude toward the world.

Research has established that already formed attitudes especially influence the reaction to propaganda. In general, attitudes have a tendency to reinforce themselves. The individual, above all, accepts those arguments which agree with convictions he has already formed. Propaganda, therefore, most often works as a factor which reinforces attitudes rather than as a factor for their change.

It was not the task of the present article (as well as the one which appeared in the previous issue of "Ideology and Politics") to provide a full and exhaustive examination of all problems concerning public mood. It was, rather, a matter of calling attention to a particular problem which seems worthy of more attention than it has been given until now. Every road which leads to the improvement of harmony in communal living and to the suppression of tension and conflicts, to the degree that it agrees with the principles of socialistic humanism, should be investigated. The author is convinced that a study of the accurate gauging and modification of the public mood represents one of these roads.

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## BRIEFS

ACCORD WITH NETHERLANDS JOURNALISTS--The Association of Polish Journalists and the Association of Netherlands Journalists signed in Warsaw a cooperation accord for 1980-1981 on 23 April. The accord provides for consistent exchanges of information and experience concerning the occupational problems of Polish and Netherlands journalists and for contacts with international and specialist journalist organizations. The accord was signed by Piotr Ziarnik, deputy chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, and by Wim Klinkenberg, deputy chairman of the Association of Netherlands Journalists. [Text] [AU260730 Warsaw ZYCIE WARZAWY in Polish 24 Apr 80 p 2]

CSO: 2600



## ROMANIA

### REPORTS ON BILATERAL, INTERNATIONAL HISTORY MEETINGS

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 1, Jan-Feb 80 pp 171-181

#### Romanian-Polish Meeting

[Article by Milica Moldoveanu: "Fourth Meeting of the Joint Romanian-Polish Historical Commission"]

[Text] The meeting of the Joint Romanian-Polish Historical Commission was held in Iasi from 27 to 31 May 1979.

The Romanian party included Prof Dr Stefan Stefanescu, chairman of the Romanian party and director of the Bucharest Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, Dr Serban Papacostea and Florin Constantiniu, permanent members of the Romanian party of the commission and both of the N. Iorga Institute of History, Dr Milica Moldoveanu, permanent member of the Romanian party of the commission and head researcher at the ISISP [Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies] under the RCP Central Committee, Dr Leonid Boicu, permanent member of the Romanian party and head researcher at the Iasi A. D. Xenopol Institute of History and Archeology, Dr Alexandru Dutu, expert and deputy chief editor of REVISTA DE STUDII SUD-EST EUROPEI, Col Dr Dumitru Tutu, expert at the Bucharest Research Center for Military History and Theory, Dr Teodor Pospiliu, expert and head researcher at the Cluj-Napoca Institute of History and Archeology, Aurel Karetchi, expert and head researcher at the Iasi Branch of the ISISP, and Alexandru Zub and Dr Veniamin Ciobanu, experts and head researchers at the Iasi A. D. Xenopol Institute of History and Archeology.

The Polish party included Prof Dr Tadeusz Jedruszczak, chairman of the Polish party and chief editor of the journal KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY published by the Historical Institute of the APS [Polish Academy of Sciences] in Warsaw, Prof Dr Emanuel Rostworowski, section head at the Historical Institute of the APS in Cracow and chief editor of the "Polish Biographic Dictionary," Roland Aleksandrovics, expert jurist on the Supreme Court in Warsaw, Reserve Col Marian Duriass, an expert, Dr Docent Janusz Mallek, expert at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun, and Dr Andrzej Zakrzewski, expert and secretary general of the Polish Historical Society in Warsaw.

The Romanian party presented the following reports and coreports: Dr Florin Constantiniu, "Historical Significance of the Armed National Antifascist and Anti-imperialist Insurrection of August 1944"; Dr Milica Moldoveanu and Aurel Kartechi, "Romanian-Polish Relations on the Eve of World War II (September 1939 in Romania and Poland)"; Col Dr Dumitru Tutu, "Solidarity of the Romanian People with Polish Troops on Romanian Territory During World War II"; Dr Pompiliu Teodor, Alexandru Duta and Serban Papacostea, "Economic and Social Reforms and Cultural Development in the Romanian Lands in the 18th Century"; Dr Alexandru Zub, "Modern Quality of Romanian Historiography in the 18th Century"; and Dr Leonid Boicu, "New Publications in the Field of History from May 1978 to May 1979 in Romania."

In its turn the Polish party presented the following reports and coreports: Dr Andrzej Zakrzewski, "The 35th Anniversary of People's Poland: Origin, Stages, Development and Research Problems"; Prof Dr Tadeusz Jędruszcak, "September 1939: Origin, Development and Significance"; Prof Dr Emanuel Rostworowski, "Poland in Europe of the Age of Enlightenment"; Col Marian Duriasz, "Polish Aviators in Romania During World War II"; and Dr Docent J. Mallek and Dr Andrzej Zakrzewski, "New Publications in the Field of History in the May 1979 Period in Poland." [sic]

The reports were followed by discussions of the importance of the two great anniversaries in the development of Romania and Poland and basic problems of historiography in both countries, with emphasis upon the latest studies. The discussions were frank and brought out the need of further exchanges of views in the future.

It was also agreed to hold the Fifth Meeting of the Joint Commission in Poland from 26-31 May 1980 at Odansk University on the subjects of "Poland, Romania and the Countries of Central and Southeastern Europe in the 20th Century," "The Middle Ages in Contemporary Polish and Romanian Historiography," and "New Publications in the Field of History from May 1979 to May 1980 in Romania and Poland."

The parties moved to hold the Sixth Meeting of the Joint Polish-Romanian Historical Commission in 1981 in Romania on the subjects of "The Revolutionary and National Liberation Struggles in the 19th Century in the Two Countries," "The Resistance Movement During World War II in Romania and Poland," and "New Publications in the Field of History from May 1980 to May 1981 in Romania and Poland."

Both parties expressed their satisfaction that this form of scientific collaboration had fully proved its usefulness and produced fruitful results, wherefore they moved to continue it in the future.

#### Romanian-GDR Meeting

[Article by Georgeta Tudoran: "Joint Session of the Joint Romanian-GDR Commission"]

[Text] In 1979 a scientific meeting was held between the delegates of the Commission of GDR historians headed by Prof Dr Fritz Klein and the members of

the Romanian commission headed by Prof Dr Titu Georgescu. The meeting was held from 11 to 15 June 1979 to convene the Second Session of the Joint Commission according to the decision approved at the First Session, which was held in Erfurt from 9 to 15 October 1978. The subject, "The Socialist and Labor Movement in Romania and Germany Until the End of World War I," was prepared and discussed in an animated and friendly fashion during the Second Session, which met at Constanta. The members of the GDR commission arrived at Bucharest on 11 June 1979. They were met by the Romanian delegates and visited the Nicolae Iorga Historical Institute, where they were received by the institute's director, Prof Dr Stefan Stefanescu. After the official and hearty greeting they were accorded on this occasion, they visited the Museum of History of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement in Romania.

Then they went to Constanta, where the participants in the proceedings of the Joint Commission were received by the heads of the county party and state organs of that city. In the main speeches were made about the ancient, archaeological traditions as well as the modern ones, those concerning the history of the Dobrogea and the economic, political and social progress that has been made up to our time, in the period of advanced socialism.

On 12 June Prof Dr Titu Georgescu opened the scientific session with a speech on the 35th anniversary of the national armed antifascist insurrection of August 1944 in Romania, pointing out the social and national importance of the great deed accomplished by the broad masses of workers. In his opening speech Fritz Klein, chairman of the GDR commission, referred in his turn to the 30th anniversary of the formation of the GDR, an event of paramount importance in the history of his nation.

On the two days some interesting scientific reports were read by the delegates from both countries. Prof Dr Titu Georgescu read a report on "The Programs of the Socialist and Labor Movement in Romania up to the End of World War I." Dr Georgeta Tudoran reported on "Problems of Peace and War in the Discussions of the Party and Trade Union Forums at the Beginning of the 20th Century," and Ioan Chiper reported on "Imperialist Contradictions in Europe at the End of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th and Their Effect Upon the Small Countries (Struggling to Form National States)." These problems of the socialist and labor movement were also taken up in the reports of Dr Gheorghe Uno, "Features of the Socialist and Labor Movement in Romania up to World War I," Dr Ion Ardeleanu, "The Party of the Working Class and the Basic Problems of Romanian Social Development at the End of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th," Univ Reader Eugen Stanescu and Constantin Paraschiv, "Contacts of the Socialist and Labor Movement in Romania with the Socialist and Labor Movement in Germany" and Prof Dr Carol Goellner and Valter Ciobanu, "The Socialist and Democratic Movement in Romania in the European Context. 1948-1916."

The GDR representatives read very important reports both on development of the workers' socialist, professional and political organizations in Germany and on their relations with the socialist movement in Romania. Prof Dr Fritz

Klein reported on "Problems of the Evolution of the International Labor Movement from the end of the 19th Century to World War I (with Special Emphasis on Its Stand on War and Peace)," Dr. Helmuth Kleiber on "The German Labor Movement and the Legacy of 1848-1849," Prof. Dr. Heinz Hueseler on "The Spread of Socialism in the German Labor Movement in 1869-1891," Dr. Dietrich Eichholtz on "Problems of Development and Social Structure of the Working Class Until 1914," Dr. Margot Hegemann on "Friedrich Engels' Relations with the Labor Movement in Romania," Prof. Dr. Klaus Bochmann on "Contacts Between the Labor Movement in Romania and German Social-Democracy," and Prof. Dr. Walter Winner on "Evolution of the Left in the German Labor Movement During World War I."

The scientific reports were accompanied by lively, friendly discussions of some aspects of the characteristic features of the development of the labor movement and the activities of the socialist parties in these countries, both internally and as part of the international socialist movement. The sustained discussions permitted a useful exchange of views and mutual suggestions quite valuable to both parties. These conclusions were presented at the closing session, wherein the members of the commission decided to convene the Third Session of the Joint Commission of Romanian and GDR Historians in 1981 in the GDR on the subject of "Imperialist Contradictions Between the Two World Wars."

We mention that the proceedings of the session were actively supported by the Constanta Museum of History and Archeology and attended by Prof. Dr. Adrian Radulescu, director of this museum, along with museographers and professors of the city.

Both parties participating in this session expressed their satisfaction with this form of friendly scientific collaboration.

#### Southeast European Studies Congress

[Article by N. Copoiu: "Fourth Congress on Southeast European Studies"]

[Text] The Fourth International Congress on Southeast European Studies was held in Ankara from 13 to 18 August 1979. It was organized by the AIESEE, a scientific organization formed in 1963 under UNESCO's auspices. The first three congresses were held in Sofia (1966), Athens (1970) and Bucharest (1974). The association's permanent headquarters are in Bucharest.

As its name indicates, the association conducts scientific activities in many fields, so that its congresses are international, interdisciplinary meetings in the nature of large scientific gatherings attended by at least several hundred specialists.

About 400 specialists from 23 countries attended the congress in Ankara. Besides the Southeast European countries (Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia and Turkey), delegates also came from other countries near them or where groups of specialists are studying aspects of the historical development of the peoples in this geographic area.



History has been the main scientific field discussed at the congresses of the Association for Southeast European studies. The Ankara Congress was no exception to this, and its agenda also included linguistics, ethnography, art and literature.

We should say from the start that the history of Southeast Europe and of the development of the peoples in this part of our continent provides vast and fascinating material for research, the results of which are unquestionably of general interest and include significant conclusions about the close ties in the course of time among these peoples.

The congresses of the Association for Southeast European Studies have this high role of encouraging studies and facilitating exchange of experience among scientists, whose activity ultimately contributes to a climate of friendship and collaboration among the countries of Southeast Europe in the spirit of peace and good neighbor relations. That is why Romania has sent large delegations to all the congresses, received one of them in Bucharest, and sent a representative delegation to the Ankara Congress this year.

The delegation of Romanian scientists headed by Academician Stefan Pascu included historians, linguists, economists and political scientists from the Romanian Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, the Center for Studies and Research on Military History and Theory, and the Institute of Southeast European Studies. The Institute of of Historical and Social-Political Studies was represented by Dr Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy director, Dr Nicolae Copoiu, section chief, Dr Viorica Moisuc and Dr Cristian Popisteanu, chief editor of the journal *MAGAZIN ISTORIC*.

The Ankara Congress conducted its proceedings in five fields: history, linguistics, ethnography, art and literature. History was divided into sections corresponding to the historical periods (ancient, medieval, and modern and contemporary). Within each section the proceedings were based on certain subjects and problems previously set by the organizers. To illustrate the scope of the congress in the history sector, we mention that there were three subjects in ancient history: (1) "The Balkans in the Prehistoric Period Between Asia Minor and the Western Mediterranean," (2) "The Balkans and Asia Minor in the First Millennium B.C.," and (3) "The Balkans and Asia Minor in the Roman Period." There were four subjects in the Middle Ages: (1) "The Southeast European Populations of Migrating Tribes and the Byzantine Civilization in the 11th and 17th Centuries," (2) "The Natural Economy and Commodity Production in Southeast Europe from the 13th to the 15th Centuries," (3) "The Social-Legal Categories and Their Relations with the Landowners and with the State," and (4) "Continuity and Discontinuity in the State Structures in Southeast Europe in the 14th and 17th Centuries."

In the modern and contemporary period 14 subjects were assigned: (1) "National Movements and Political Development of Southeast Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries," (2) "Political Parties in the Southeast European Countries After the Acquisition of Independence Until World War II," (3) "Agrarian Structures in the Southeast European Countries (Crises and Reforms) from the



15th to the 20th Centuries," (4) "Theories and Practices Concerning Agrarian Reforms," (5) "Capitalism in Southeast Europe in the Modern and Contemporary Periods," (6) "Cities and the Urban Economy," (7) "Evolution of Social Structures," (8) "The Balkans and Southeast Europe in International Affairs from the 15th to the 20th Centuries," (9) "The Question of the Orient," (10) "The Idea of the Balkan Confederation," (11) "The Problem of Peace and Security in the Balkans Between the Two World Wars," (12) "Political Affairs in Southeast Europe During World War II," (13) "Cultural Development of Southeast Europe from the 15th to the 20th Century," and (14) "Cultural Developments After World War II."

Since some subjects extended over several centuries, the organizers had to limit the scope of the reports to subsubjects.

The Romanian delegation played a considerable part in the proceedings of the congress. In the plenary session Brigadier Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu and Dr Cristian Popisteanu presented the report on the great Romanian political event of the year, the 35th anniversary of the revolution for social and national liberation against the fascists and imperialists in Romania, a historic event viewed in the context of Southeast Europe and the development of World War II. The other members of the Romanian delegation presented the following reports and coreports and papers: "Interrelations of the Southeast European Languages" (report), by Academician Al. Graur; "Demographic Fluctuations and Problems of Manpower in the Southeast European Countries from the 15th to the 20th Centuries" (coreport), by Academician Stefan Pascu; "Asia Minor and the Balkans in the First Millennium B.C." (coreport), by Academician Em. Condurachi and Zoe Petre; "The Romanian People's Struggles for National Liberation in the 19th Century and Their Effect Upon the Evolution of Society" (coreport), by Brigadier Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu; "Southeast European Populations of Migrating Tribes and Their Relations with the Byzantine Civilization (6th-12th Centuries)" (coreport) and "Byzantium and Its Contribution to the Formation of the Balkan Civilizations" (inaugural address) by Dr Rasvan Theodorescu; "The Cultural Bases: the Byzantine Legacy, the Ottoman Contribution, the National Heritage and the Foreign Cultural Ties of the Romanian Lands" (coreport), by Dr Virgil Candea; "State Continuity of Romanian Society from the 14th to the 17th Century As a Historical Necessity and Sovereign Right" (coreport), by Univ Reader Eugen Stanescu; "The Agrarian Problem and Reform in the United Romanian Principalities in the Context of Agrarian Evolution /sic/ in Central and Southeast Europe" (coreport), by Dr Dan Berindei; "Political Affairs in Southeast Europe During World War II" (coreport), by Dr Gh. Zaharia; "Schools of Thought and Social Evolution in Southeast Europe in the Modern Period. The Socialist Trend As the Predominant One in Romanian Society at the End of the 19th Century" (coreport), by Dr N. Copoiu; "Romania As a Factor for Peace and Security in the Balkans (1918-1978)" (coreport), by Dr Cristian Popisteanu; "Theories and Practices of the Agrarian Reforms in the Modern Period, with Special Reference to Romania" (coreport), by Prof Dr Damian Hurezeanu; "Impact of the Romanian People's Struggle for Unity and Independence Upon Relations Between the Political Parties (1877-1944)" (coreport), by Col Dr Al. Gh. Savu; "The Ottoman Chronicles As Sources of Romanian History" (coreport), by Dr Ion Matei; "Romania and the Problem of Peace and Security in Europe on the Eve of

World War II" (coreport), by Dr Viorica Moisuc; "The Material Economy and Commercial Production in Southeast Europe" (coreport), by Prof Dr Radu Marnaleanu; "Some Problems of Turkish Studies in the Study of Southeast European History" (paper), by Prof Mihai Ouboglu; "Problem of Foreign and National Investments in Romania" (paper), by Prof Dr Victor Amseilue; and "Problems of Peace and Security in Southeast Europe in the 20th Century" (paper), by Niculae Potino.

In addition to the reports properly speaking, the Romanian delegates also made many helpful comments in the course of the discussions, most of which served to supplement, qualify and document the problems under discussion, especially in connection with the history of the Romanian people and their relations with the peoples of Southeast Europe. They made a real contribution in this way to the clarification of some problems that are insufficiently known or distorted in the history books of other countries.

In view of the multitude of subjects and problems discussed at the Ankara Congress, it would indeed be difficult even to review those that became subjects of discussion and debate.

As an example we shall mention the discussions in the section on "National Movements and the Political Development of Southeast Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries," wherein references to the history of the Romanian people and especially to the revolution of 1821 led by Tudor Vladimirescu were made both in the introductory report read by N. Todorov (Bulgaria), president of the AIESEE, and in the coreport by G. L. Arsh (USSR). The general tendency was to identify the Romanian Lands and the Romanians' struggle for national unity with the Balkan peoples' national liberation movement against the Turks and to treat them in the same way. Viewed in this light, the Romanian revolution of 1821 appeared in Prof Arsh's report as a seriously limited contribution to the anti-Turkish struggle in the general Southeast European context. The report said, "The leader of the Romanian insurgents did not formulate the demand for granting independence to his country... Tudor assured the Porte that the people rose only against 'the robbers' and not against the sultan's 'legal' power." Although formally the Soviet author's statements were not inaccurate, failure to specify the Romanian Lands' status as autonomous states created confusion and actually minimized the revolution of 1821.

For this reason the Romanian delegates attending the proceedings of this section made comments in which they pointed out the particular situation of Wallachia and Moldavia in relation to the Ottoman Porte as well as the danger the new great power, Tsarist Russia, had begun to present. The Romanian delegates pointed out in their comments that both Tudor Vladimirescu and the leaders of the Romanian revolution of 1848 took account of the conflict between the two great powers, emphatically demanding recognition and observance of the ancient autonomy of the Romanian lands specified in the Romanian-Turkish treaties, since this demand also counteracted the danger from Tsarist Russia. It is a noteworthy fact indicative of the importance of scientific discussions in an academic, friendly spirit that Prof N. Todorov recognized the problem of the Romanian Lands' autonomy and even developed it in the conclusions to

the discussions, pointing out that they were not under Turkish occupation and that because of this situation the Balkan peoples south of the Danube were fighting primarily for a position similar to that of the Romanians in relation to the Turks. During the discussions in the same section the Soviet delegates headed by Academician L. I. Narochnitskiy pointed out the aid Tsarist Russia gave the Balkan peoples (including Greece) in their struggle against the Turks. Moreover Academician Narochnitskiy's report itself (presented in the subsection on "Diffusion of Ideas and Social Evolution") on "Russian Society and the Greek Liberation Movement in the First Third of the 19th Century," using the last volume of documents (the 11th) on Russia's foreign policy published in Moscow, presented the Tsarist policy in greater detail: The Petersburg government did not support the liberation movements in the Balkans directly, and not the Hetaeria either. But the Tsarist government protested every time there were bloody repressions of the insurgents by the Turks. The Soviet academician said in his report that the Romanian historian Andrei Otetea's contention that the Tsarist government supported the Hetaeria is not confirmed by documents.

Although not one of the long list of subjects in modern and contemporary history dealt directly with the socialist and labor movement (regrettably in our opinion), problems of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the Balkans were taken up in several reports in the subsection on "Trends and Ideas at the End of the 19th Century." The presence of specialists from Yugoslavia, the USSR, Bulgaria and Romania occasioned an animated discussion of the Romanian delegate's report entitled "The Socialist Trend as the Predominant One in Romanian Society at the End of the 19th Century." The novelty of it was the conclusion expressed in the title itself and substantiated in depth throughout the report, to the effect that in the last decades of the last century Romanian public opinion knew no school of thought more influential than the socialist trend.

The proceedings of the congress, which the organizers have promised to publish, will indicate more graphically the generally high scientific level of the Fourth Congress of the AIESEE, contributing to further knowledge of the historical development of the peoples of Southeast Europe and to consolidation of the climate of good neighbor relations, peace and friendship among them.

#### Romanian-USSR Symposium

[Text] In accordance with the agreement for collaboration between the ISISP under the RCP Central Committee and DIL [Institute of Marxism-Leninism] under the CPSU Central Committee, the Fourth Bilateral Romanian-Soviet Symposium (1) was held in Moscow on 29 and 30 October 1979 on the subject of "The Social Component of the Communist Party and Regulation of the Growth of the Party Membership During Construction of Developed Socialism and Communism."

The Romanian delegation, composed of Dr Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy scientific director at the ISISP and head of the delegation, Dr Gheorghe Surpat, section head, and Gheorghe Tudor, a scientific researcher, presented the following reports: "Changes in the Class Social Structure of Socialist Society and Some



**Methodological Problems of Determining the Social Base of the PCP," "Education of Communists and Development of Their Activity and Responsibility for Implementing Party Policy" and "The PCP's Ways and Means of Further Improvement of the Quality of Party Membership and Further Consolidation of the Party's Ranks and Its Ties with the Entire People."**

The Soviet Delegation, headed by P. A. Rodionov, first deputy director of the IDL, presented the following reports: "Laws of Quantitative and Qualitative Growth of the CPSU," by Prof. Dr. Bondar, head of the Party Construction Section of the IDL; "Class Nature of the CPSU and Experience in Its Development into the Entire People's Party," by Candidate in Historical Sciences N. I. Kolchashko, section head at the IDL; "Education of Communists and Development of Their Activity and Responsibility for Implementing Party Policy" by Candidate in Historical Sciences A. N. Samosudov, section head at the IDL; "Some Problems of Development of the Communist Parties As Mass and Avantgarde Parties," by G. B. Vyshinskiy, scientific researcher at the IDL; "Some Problems of Growth of Communist Party Membership Under the Scientific-Technical Revolution," by R. S. Yemtsov, scientific researcher at the IDL; "Experience in Regulating the Quantitative and Qualitative Composition of the Party Membership," by Candidate in Historical Sciences A. Lipilin, section head at the Institute of Party History of the CPSU Leningrad Regional Committee; "Development of the Role of the Primary Organizations in Forming the Party Membership and Improving Its Qualitative Composition in the National Regions," by K. E. Surblis, section head at the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Lithuania; "Formation of the Composition of the Party Membership in the National Regions," by Dr. of Historical Sciences V. A. Bobkov, section head at the Institute of Party History under the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Belorussia.

The symposium was conducted in meetings chaired alternately by the heads of the two delegations.

Prof. Dr. V. I. Bondar's report analysed in depth the problems of the quality of the party membership as well as the principles and methods of forming the composition of the party during construction of developed socialism in the USSR. The report said the social and national composition of the revolutionary party of the working class is characterized by unity of the quantitative and qualitative aspects, and the party's militancy, power and influence upon the masses depend upon each of them.

On the subject of growth of the CPSU's membership, the speaker mentioned that it is mainly determined by the following factors: the scope of the objectives of socialist construction, the growing political awareness of the masses, and the condition and qualitative level of the social base that supports the party in society.

Thanks to the consolidation of the social base of Soviet society, the qualitative development of the working class, the rise of the political level and occupational training of the working masses, and the intensification of socialist democracy, the most advanced workers from the working class, the kulkhos

peasantry and the intelligentsia are flocking to the party in the present stage. In the last three decades, the CPSU membership has increased by 3 times. At the beginning of 1979 there were 16.63 million members, or 10 per cent of the nation's adult population.

The report pointed out that alongside the growth of the party's membership, special emphasis is being placed upon the qualitative aspect. In emphasizing quality before quantity, the CPSU is making every effort to lend its membership a high qualitative composition and to enhance in every way its influence as a guiding force upon all sectors of Soviet society. In this connection the author presented in depth the social-objective premises upon which the qualitative improvement of the CPSU membership is based, including consolidation of the alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia, the growing social leveling of Soviet society, and the strengthened moral-political unity of the entire people. Besides these the particular importance was also brought out of the traits that characterize the personality of the new Soviet man, namely devotion to the communist cause, internationalism and socialist patriotism, a high activism at work, and intolerance of exploitation, oppression and national or racial prejudice. The CPSU is constantly concerned with further consolidation of its ranks, makes an extensive organisational and political effort toward communist education of the broad masses of workers, and emphasizes leadership of the working class in the party's social composition. Over 59 percent of all those admitted to the party since the 25th CPSU Congress have been workers. The report went on to say that the qualitative changes in the party's membership are also due to the increased number of members with secondary and higher education. The proportion of communists with higher education, uncompleted advanced studies and secondary education increased from 50.6 percent in 1967 to 66.7 percent in 1977, and over the same period the proportion of communists with elementary education dropped from 22.5 to 13.6 percent. In 1977 the CPSU included over 7.9 million specialists in various sectors of the national economy, or 3,253,000 more than in 1967.

The problem of growth of the CPSU membership under developed socialism in the Soviet Union was supplemented by some particular points in the reports of R. S. Yemtsova, G. B. Vyshinski, I. A. Lipilin, K. Z. Surblis and V. A. Bobkov, who approached the problem of growth of the party's membership on the basis of the experience of party organisations in the national regions and big cities. They also treated in depth the correlation between the increasing effect of the technical-scientific revolution and the growth of party membership and the improvement of the party's social structure in the national regions by strict observance of the nationality structure of the USSR's population.

They also brought out some methods used by the party organisations to raise the standards for admission to the party. We should mention here the formation of offices for party organisational work under the regional and municipal committees, which publicize the best results obtained by the party organisations in order to regulate the CPSU membership, as well as periodic organisation of meetings of party organisations in which the work of party admissions is analyzed.



N. I. Kolchenko's report was largely devoted to presenting the dialectical relationship between development of the CPSU as a party of the entire people and maintenance, at the same time, of its character as a party of the working class consistently militating for the fulfillment of its ideals and its ultimate goal, namely the complete victory of communism. The speaker said that under developed socialism the CPSU became the party of the entire people without losing its class character. The CPSU has been and remains the party of the working class by its nature. Development of the party of the working class into a party of the entire people is a regular process determined both by the changes in the party's objectively existing social and class base and by the CPSU's expression of all workers' general interest from the start. The CPSU regulates its numerical growth so as to provide for representation in the party of the most advanced elements of the working class and to maintain the party as an advanced, avantgarde detachment of the working class and the Soviet people, excluding the possibility of its premature, mass development and providing in its composition for both the labor nucleus and the representatives of the workers of the kolkhoz peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia. The dialectics of life and the developmental laws of Soviet society have caused the CPSU, which became the party of the entire people under developed socialism, to manifest at the same time and with a new vigor its character as a party of the working class, consistently militating for its ideals and its ultimate goal, namely the complete victory of communism.

On the basis of the truth confirmed by experience that the best way to strengthen the party's membership is to indoctrinate the communists in the scientific conception of the world and to develop their active spirit in implementing party policy, A. Savosudov in his report presented the main directions, ways and means taken by the party organs and organizations for the communist education of party members. As the report said, the communists' active spirit is developed primarily by the party organizations' extensive daily activity to raise the members' political and ideological level, to observe the Leninist principles and party standards of life, to provide for internal party democracy and the Leninist approach to party work, and to enhance the communists' sense of responsibility for their regulation duties. At the same time study and mastery of party policy based on Marxist-Leninist theory play a major role in education of the communists. In view of this aspect, the party organs and organizations try to lend the communists' higher ideological education an active character. Therefore, the report points out, the party organizations combat passiveness, indifference and the apolitical attitude and require all communists to be purposeful fighters characterized by superior political vigilance, an active stand in life, behavior in the spirit of communist morality at work and in family life, and intolerance of any impairment of socialist property.

The Romanian delegation was received by A. Yegorov, director of the IDU under the CPSU Central Committee, who evaluated the four bilateral Romanian-USSR meetings held so far as useful exchanges of views on the main problems of building the new social order in the USSR and Romania contributing to knowledge of the favorable experience of the two parties and peoples.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. The first Romanian-USSR symposium was held in Bucharest in April 1972 on the subject of "Laws and Stages of Socialist Construction and Development. The General and Particular in Socialist Construction." The second symposium was held in Moscow in November 1975, analyzing problems of "The Communist Party's Leadership in Socialist and Communist Construction." The third bilateral Romanian-USSR symposium was held in Bucharest in November 1976 on the subject of "Ties of the RCP and the CPSU with the Masses in the Present Stage." The delegation of the ISIEP was composed of Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy scientific director, Gheorghe Surpat, section head, Gheorghe Tutui and Gheorghe Tudor, scientific researchers at the ISIEP and Ion Tiberian, university reader at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy. The Soviet delegation consisted of P. A. Rodionov, first deputy director of the DIL, I. N. Kolchenko, section head, and R. S. Yentsova, scientific researcher at the same institute.

#### Romanian-GDR Symposium

[Text] The Romanian-GDR Symposium on "Experience of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the GDR in Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society" was held in Bucharest from 25 to 28 September 1979 in accordance with the agreement for collaboration between the ISIEP under the RCP Central Committee and the DIL under the PSUD [United Socialist Party of Germany] Central Committee.

The GDR delegation, composed of Prof Dr Guenter Benser, Dr Gerhard Neumann and Dr Manfred Teresiak, presented the following reports: "Course of the Uniform Revolutionary Process and Its Stages on GDR Territory"; "Efforts of the PSUD To Improve Its Managerial Activity in Socialist Society, Especially in the Early 1970's"; and "Preparation and Implementation of the PSUD's Policy for Construction of the Developed Socialist Society in the GDR and for Peace and Security in Europe."

The Romanian delegation, composed of Dr Gheorghe Surpat, section head, Dr Ion Bulei and Paraschiva Nichita, presented the following reports: "Content and Directions of Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society in Romania," "Stages of Socialist Revolution and Construction in Romania," and "Working Class Participation in the Management of Romanian Society."

In his report and during the discussions Guenter Benser summarized the most important parts of the compendium "History of the PSUD," published in Berlin in 1978. As the report says, the development of the construction of the new socialist order in the GDR was marked by several important stages. The first one, from 1945 to 1947, was a preliminary stage in which some democratic-anti-fascist and democratic-anti-imperialist changes were made. In this stage the new organs of state power were created, and a socialist sector of the economy was formed that included the raw materials industry, heavy industry, transportation and light industry in part. The agrarian problem was also solved then in a truly democratic spirit, and the foundation was laid for renovation of intellectual-cultural activity, to which the democratic scholastic reform

was central. In the second stage, from 1949 to 1961, the bases of socialism were created. The GDR was founded in October 1949. By the time of the October 1950 elections the process of establishing the power of the proletariat was completed and conditions were created to begin building the socialist society. As the report pointed out, the PSUC Conference of July 1952 stated that "The political and economic conditions, as well as the consciousness of the working class and most of the workers, have developed to a point where socialist construction has become the fundamental task in the GDR." In this stage the technical-material base was steadily developed, the production structures were improved and modernized, the socialist transformation of agriculture was concluded (1960), and the mechanism of the socialist state's power was constantly perfected, especially because of the development of socialist democracy. The ideological and cultural revolution continued, with the development of the educational system and the promotion of a militant socialist literature and art. At the start of the 1960's the GDR had its own metallurgical base, highly developed industrial sectors, and a greatly expanded energy base. The class structure had radically changed: 76.3 percent of the persons employed in the economy were workers and office workers, 12 percent were cooperative farmers, 7 percent were intellectuals, 2 percent were private artisans, 1.8 percent were artisans in production cooperatives, and finally 0.7 percent were merchants and agents.

In general the system of political organization of socialist society was created in this stage, centering around the PSUC as a guiding force. Marxist-Leninist ideology became predominant. The people's social-political unity was developed, which was basic to the start of the process of forming a socialist German nation.

In view of the nation's new developmental conditions, the PSUC gave first priority in the 1960's to the GDR's long-range development. The nature and objectives of the new stage of socialist construction were substantiated in theory, and the name of it evolved as follows: the all-inclusive socialist society (1961-1965), extensive socialist construction (1965-1970), and the developed socialist society, a concept developed at the Eighth PSUC Congress in 1971. On this basis the new PSUC program approved in 1976 opened up the prospects for gradual transition to creating the bases of communism through constant improvement of the developed socialist society.

The speaker said the process of socialist construction in the GDR was very like that in other socialist countries, being subject to the same generally valid laws, but it also had its distinctive features. In the first stage the revolutionary process did not take place under any centralized sovereign state, and later on it was developed through the critical combination of the social problem with the national one due to the partition of Germany. But the revolutionary reforms did not begin with any general popular revolution, a fact that affected the level of the subjective factor and the consciousness and organization of the workers.

In his report Dr Manfred Tereziak took up the broad content of the stage of building the developed socialist society in the GDR. He said this stage began



in the 1960's, when socialist production relations won out but it could be said that "the possibilities of socialist development were not yet exhausted." The Sixth PSUG Congress, held in January 1963, set as the party's strategic goal "extensive socialist construction in the GDR," a strategy developed by the Seventh PSUG Congress in April 1967. The GDR made notable progress in the 1960's in developing the national economy on the basis of a high level of science and technology, in improving the management and planning of the economy, and in raising the standard of living and socialist awareness. In 1966-1970 the national income increased by an annual average of 5.2 percent, the industrial output by 6.5 percent, labor productivity by 6 percent, real per capita incomes by 22 percent, etc. All these achievements led the Eighth PSUG Congress of June 1971 to adopt the strategy of building the developed socialist society. This stage, including the development in the 1960's, is regarded as "a historical process involving radical political, socioeconomic and spiritual-cultural changes... In the regular way it calls for the constant conflict between the old and the new and between the level reached and the constantly increasing requirements." According to the PSUG Program, the developed socialist society has the following characteristics and criteria: creation of all the material, socioeconomic and political-ideological conditions to carry out the purpose of socialism, namely to make every effort for the people's good; creation of an effective technical-material base; indestructible unity between economic and social policy; improvement of production relations; development of the role of the working class and its party as a leading force of society; all-around consolidation of the socialist system and full development of socialist democracy; enhancement of the socialist awareness of the masses; defense of peace and socialist gains; consolidation of the friendly alliance with the socialist countries; and creation of all conditions for full development of people's physical and mental capacities. The 11th PSUG Congress of 1976 demanded "great tenacity, consistency and militant spirit" of all workers in performing these important tasks of socialist construction in the GDR in a new stage.

The report as well as the discussions also noted that the whole development of socialism in the GDR has been and is in close and constant touch with the promotion of the new order in the other socialist countries. The GDR's foreign policy emphasizes consolidation of relations with the states within the socialist system. Its admission to the United Nations in September 1973 was "the culmination of the long struggle of the community of socialist states and of all the other progressive forces in the world for recognition of the GDR on the basis of international law and for its participation with equal rights in international affairs."

In his report and in the discussions Gerhard Neumann discussed some conclusions drawn in the course of preparing the history of the PSUG concerning development of the party's leadership in all fields as essential to construction of the developed socialist society. He briefly described the objective and subjective conditions that gave rise, in the beginning of the 1970's, to new objectives for the activity of party management and indicated the place occupied in this context by the qualitative and quantitative factors, how the PSUG's leadership was reflected in the practice of socialist construction,

and how the party's combative power increased. Thanks to the party's conservative policy, the GDR's national economy assumed new dimensions by the beginning of our decade, eliminating the existing discrepancies and accelerating the growth rate. The party intensified expanded reproduction and encouraged mass initiatives and new ways and means of increasing production (An important part was played in this by the plans to regularly exceed the important provisions of the state plans). The conditions were created in the 1970's to begin a new stage of carrying out the principle of all for the good of the people. Qualitatively new requirements for the party's political-ideological activity resulted from the maturity and enrichment of the PSUG's experience and from the increased responsibility of the state organs and the public organisations and institutions for fulfilling the tasks of socialist construction, which enabled the party to concentrate more intensively upon the main political problems. Socialist democracy developed steadily and enriched its manifestations (increased number of worker deputies, intensified activity of the Liberal Union of Trade Unions, the National Front, the Free German Youth and the women's organisations, and improved worker-peasant control).

The PSUG's combative power was enhanced particularly by the establishment of a principled spirit of work related to the life of its organisations. As the report points out, "Experience shows that all the progress made in the life of the GDR is due to the party's scientifically substantiated policy. It enables the workers to understand the objective laws and requirements of social development and spurs their organisation, activities and initiatives."

The Romanian researchers' reports brought out our party's experience in building the fully developed socialist society and the progress of Romanian historiography in this field.

The reports of the two delegations permitted some fruitful discussions. They revealed some important similarities in the experience of the two communist parties (the PSUG and the RCP) in their work of managing the process of developing the socialist order on a new and higher level. They also brought out each party's experience under the particular conditions in the GDR and Romania respectively. The symposium contributed to a better mutual knowledge of the most recent history of the two countries and peoples and the history of our times.

\$186

C80: 2700



## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

**COUNTY YOUTH COMMITTEES ELECTIONS**--On 19 April, there were reports and elections conferences in the Union of Communist Youth organizations in Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Buzau, Covasna, Galati, Iasi, Mehedinti, Prahova and Timis counties and in Bucharest Municipality. The following comrades conducted the conferences on behalf of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth: Dionisie Balint--in Bistrita-Nasaud; Ioana Lancrajan--in Botosani; Cristina Luca--in Buzau; Radu Enache--in Covasna; Nicolae Croitoru--in Galati; Ion Sasu--in Iasi; Mihai Nirjau--in Mehedinti; Nicu Ceausescu--in Prahova; Constantin Bostina--in Timis; Pantelimon Gavanescu--in Bucharest Municipality. The following comrades were elected first secretaries of the county committees of the Union of Working Youth: Ioana Frantiu--Bistrita-Nasaud; Maria Benta--Botosani; Stela Chioveanu--Buzau; Ioan Olas--Covasna; Virgil Ghinda--Galati; Dimitru Nagat--Iasi; Constantin Zintea--Mehedinti; Alexandru Apostol--Prahova; Ioan Rotarescu--Timis; Dinu Dragan--Bucharest Municipality. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Apr 80 p 5]

**OBITUARY OF AGRONOMIST**--The Presidium of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences announces the death of university professor Iulian Dracea, founding member of the Academy and member of its Presidium, eminent scientist, creator of valuable varieties and hybrids of plants, dedicated to scientific research and to the training of many generations of agronomists. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Apr 80 p 4]

**CONDOLENCES ON MUSA DEATH**--Saddened by the news of the dramatic death of Comrade Ion Musa, the workers of the Romanian Embassy in Paris express their deep compassion and sincere condolences to the bereaved family. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Apr 80 p 4]

**CONDOLENCES TO STANESCU FAMILY**--The council of workers, the party committee and the trade union committee in the special projects trust in Bucharest share in the great sorrow of the family of comrade minister state secretary [in the Ministry of Industrial Construction] Ion Stanescu at the unexpected death of their son Costel Stanescu [student in the Faculty of Geology of Bucharest University]. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Apr 80 p 4]

CSO: 2700

ARTICLE DISPUTES 'UNTRUTHS' ABOUT ISLAM IN YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 80 p 9

[Article by Dr Ahmed Smajlovic, editor in chief of the Islamic newspaper PREPOROD (REBIRTH): "Who Are All Those Spreading Untruths and Sowing Confusing Ideas About Moslems in Yugoslavia?"]

[Text] The article below was first published in PREPOROD, the Islamic newspaper, and we publish it with the consent of the author, Dr Ahmed Smajlovic, professor and editor in chief of PREPOROD.

In following what has recently been said and written about our country, about its nationalities and ethnic minorities and about our ailing President Tito one cannot escape the impression that Yugoslavia as it really is--a land of fraternity, self-management, unity, neutrality and solidarity behind its beloved President Tito--has been at the center of the entire world public's attention.

It is true that the major part of everything that we have had occasion to see that is being written about us is fine and truthful and well-intentioned the way it is, so that all of us together have reason to be proud and should all be filled with joy and satisfaction. Finally, there is also the truth here, and it cannot be evaded, since sometimes it makes its own way and at some time must be stated, demonstrated and made public.

However, in one portion, a small portion to be sure, of what is being written about us we also encounter things which have absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with our life, our reality and the way we do things. Things like that are particularly typical of what is being written about the Moslems in Yugoslavia in general and about the Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina particularly. In our daily newspaper OSLOBODJENJE on 26 March 1980, page 5, for example, we had occasion to read the reaction to one such "Amazing Wonderment" on the part of LE MONDE of Paris, a reaction rightly expressed by Ljubisa Jaksic and truly deserving our attention and gratitude.

I will leave Henri Fesquet and his untruths, wonders and errors to the author of the article published in OSLOBODJENJE, but I will add to him here several other disseminators of untruths and sowers of confusion about us Moslems in Yugoslavia in general and about us Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina particularly.

#### Letter to Professor Mahmud Sakir

It is said that the famous Aristotle once cried out: "Plato is dear to me, but the truth is dearer"; there is so much similarity that I can fully apply his words here, noting only that I do not mean to place myself among men of such greatness. I am personally acquainted with Prof Mahmud Sakir, I have learned from his writings and have written about them. There is no doubt that he is a learned man, he has a judicious mind, and he is a fruitful Islamic thinker. For all these reasons he is very dear to me, but the truth really is dearer.

How is it that he should be the one to spread untruths and to sow confusion about our Moslems? Here is how! In Saudi Arabia Imam Mahmud ben Saud Islamic University in Riyadh in January 1979 held the "First Islamic Geography Symposium" under the sponsorship of the Ministry for Higher Education; one of the topics studied there was: "Islamic Countries and Islamic Minorities in the Contemporary World," and all the materials for this topic were published in a book running to several hundred pages and bearing the same title. One of the topics is in fact: "Moslems in Yugoslavia"; this article is published in the book on pages 708-715, and on one of these pages, page 712, which we take only as an example of how poorly informed and confused this scholar is, it says that before the last world war there were 170,000 mosques in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 870 mosques in Sarajevo itself, and in Belgrade, for example, there were 270 mosques, all of which have been demolished except one, whose minaret has also been demolished.

Figures are given which purport to show how after our country's liberation the government demolished a very large number of mosques in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in its capital Sarajevo, as well as a large number of mosques in Belgrade. My only question for Prof Mahmud Sakir is this: Professor, where do you find figures like this? Probably someone maliciously passed them off on you, deceiving both you and the truth, and most of all, nevertheless, our Moslems in Yugoslavia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina and our broader community.

Are you certain, for example, that all of Turkey when it was at the summit of its power had as many mosques as you believe Bosnia-Herzegovina alone had? Are you really sure, for example, that Cairo or Constantinople ever had in the past or now has as many mosques as your figures indicate for Sarajevo, which is little more than a village compared to those metropolises? At what point in time did Belgrade have as many mosques as you say, and when were they demolished?

Really, professor, this is not worthy of you! Were you not dear to me, and were I not certain that those who read you are persuaded that everything you write is the absolute truth, I would not devote even a single word to your untruths and errors. That being, however, the case, I have a duty to do so, if for no other reason, for the sake of the truth, professor! And you, professor, as far as I know, love the truth above all else!

That love of the truth should have persuaded you in this specific case, conscious of the great responsibility for public statements and also the need to preserve your own reputation, to turn your close attention first to your source of information about Moslems in Yugoslavia, to the authenticity of the figures, so as to avoid a situation in which you make a grave error as an author by writing something inaccurate and nonsensical, which inevitably will mean very serious consequences for you yourself. God willing, I will write about certain other of your errors another time! In any case, we call upon you to come and see how this country of ours looks and its heart--Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is embellished by minarets and mosques old and new which even today are being built as never before. This is being done, professor, by our faithful, the Moslems, since they want to, are able to and have the funds, and that in itself also is indicative of a great many other things concerning the way they live, how free they are and how much they themselves are doing for Islam!

#### The Fabrications of the Newsmen Gustav (Halup)

Perhaps someone will say of this heading--overrigorous criticism! They will be wrong, since what the SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN correspondent in Belgrade published in that paper on 27 December 1979 under the title "Tito Favors Islam" actually consists of bizarre fabrications both about the construction of mosques and also about the origin of our reis-ul-ulem (supreme leader), who, as is well known, comes from right here in Prusac and not from Cairo or Tripoli. If we also add that when he speaks about a "Renaissance of Islam in Yugoslavia," he emphasizes the intolerance of one religion for another, then it seems that the spreading of untruths and the sowing of confusion about us Moslems in Yugoslavia in general and in Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular have become a real delight and specialty for newsmen. It is clear to me that Gustav (Halup) doesn't like minarets new or old, but it truly is not clear to me why he is bothered by our nationality, our freedom and our equality. It seems to me that Mr (Halup) is bothered most by the unshakable fraternity, community spirit and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities. Wouldn't this newsmen have behaved more straightforwardly if he had gone to representatives of Yugoslavia's Islamic community through regular channels, where he certainly would have obtained exhaustive and objective explanations concerning everything that interested and concerned him. Of course, that is not what he wanted! It is interesting that as the correspondent of a serious newspaper, and I assume that it at least claims that epithet, since it has representatives in a number of countries, including ours, he could have allowed himself something of this nature, to write about it the way he would like it to be, rather than as it



actually is, an act which causes serious damage to the reputation of both the author of the article and the newspaper itself when it is discovered. Sensationalism really is not possible without fabrications.

#### The Deception of Zejd Ben Abdulaziz El-Fejjad

The well-known Islamic weekly ED-DE' AVETU, which is published in Saudi Arabia, published in its No 740, 22 Rabia-s-sani 1400 A.H., that is 9 March 1980, on pages 14 and 15, an article by Zejd Ben Abdulaziz El-Fejjad entitled "Fi Jugoslaviya Jutahedu-l-Muslimane," which, translated, means: "The Moslems Are Being Persecuted in Yugoslavia," in which at the beginning of the article he speaks about Yugoslavia's nonalignment and peaceful policy, and then he criticizes the Arabs for excessive love and esteem of President Tito. All right, everyone has a right to like someone or not to. That is in any case his affair, or his problem. I do not want to get into that on this occasion!

However, what is really incomprehensible in all this is that the author of the article and the editors of the magazine allow themselves to reprint an obviously malicious text from the Lebanese journal EL EMANU, which in No 52 on 15 Rabia-l-evvela 1400 A.H., that is 1 February 1980, published the declaration from a conference of some kind of Croatian nationalists concerning the status of Moslems in Yugoslavia. What connection can there be between one and the other? It is stated in the article that some sort of Croats living in Western Europe, America and Australia were represented at that conference. The declaration calls for intervention with the Yugoslav government to halt the supposed persecutions of religious, ideological and Islamic leadership groups in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina! The readers can themselves imagine the kind of irony and deception of the author and the journal mentioned, who in all of this that they are taking over provide the best demonstration of how "Islamic" they are and how much they really care about Islam and Moslems. We believe that among the enemies of our country mentioned above and also among our own Moslems the largest number are those who were direct participants in the slaughtering of our nationalities and ethnic minorities during World War II, in their service of enemies of all kinds.

We dare not be silent when confronted with spreaders of untruths like these and sowers of confusion about us Moslems in Yugoslavia in general and in Bosnia-Hercegovina in particular. On the contrary, Islam makes it our obligation to discredit initiators of untruths, deceptions and hostile activity as loudly as we can and before the entire world, to protest and to say that every untruth has a short life and that the borrowing of errors from anyone else is the best evidence of how much one really cares for the truth!

## The Absurdities of the Spreaders of Untruths

If we had the space to present all the absurdities of the authors of the lines mentioned above, we ought to bring several disputes to light in this article.

For example, Prof Mahmud Sakir says in one place that the Gazi-Musrefbeg Secondary School in Sarajevo exists only "for the sake of Yugoslav propaganda," while in another passage it exists only for the sake of Islamic fields of study! A similar school also exists in Skopje, as far as he "knows." He then later admits that there is also the Allaudin Secondary School in Pristina. It is also a pity that even 2 years after the opening of the Islamic School of Theology in Sarajevo he doesn't even mention that this school exists at all.

Had he merely by some accident followed the press, even in his own language, he would have learned about the opening of this greatest of our Islamic institutions of learning. It seems to us as though the professor dare not become aware of such realizations. Perhaps he considers them taboo!

Almost the same case occurs with Gustav (Halup), already mentioned, who even goes so far that in spite of his admitting that the beginning of the renaissance of Moslems in Yugoslavia began far earlier than in the rest of the Islamic world (since the renaissance of Islam in Yugoslavia began somewhere around the fifties), attempts to impute to us a foreign influence, since he cannot understand that the awakening of Islam in Yugoslavia occurred thanks above all to the equal rights, freedom and equality of our nationalities and ethnic minorities created since the war.

Zejd Ben Abdulaziz El-Fejjad also demonstrates his absurdity, especially when among other things he takes over fictitious figures which he himself, I am sure, does not believe because they are absurd, from our enemies already mentioned who are attempting to "persuade" someone that of the total 4 million Moslems in Yugoslavia some 720,000 were imprisoned from the end of the war up to 1972, which would mean that 1 Moslem in 5 was convicted! What is to be said in answer to something like that? Anyone who has any sense and scruples will admit to himself and others that this kind of thing could be imagined only by those who neither fear God, nor have a scrap of conscience or humanity!

Finally, do these and similar absurdities need any sort of more extensive commentary, and can anyone have anything other to say about actions like these except that the authors and purveyors of fabrications will suffer, as from a boomerang, various harmful consequences from their own carelessly uttered and malicious statements and unverified and inaccurate judgments, which can contribute neither to the honor nor reputation of those who make them?

7045

C90: 2800

**CONCLUSIONS OF FEDERAL CHAMBER ON 1978-1979 FEC OPERATION**

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 17, 4 Apr 80 pp 723-727

[Conclusions adopted by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly 26 March 1980 and signed by Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen, president of the chamber]

[Text] In a session on 26 March 1980 the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, on the basis of Article 283, Subparagraph 10, of the SFRY Constitution, and Articles 136 and 174 of the Operating Procedure of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, examined within the limits of its competence the Report on the Work of the FEC [Federal Executive Council] covering the period from 16 May 1978 to the end of 1979,

mindful of the evaluation of the situation and results achieved in all areas of the life of society which is contained in that report and in the presentation of the chairman of the Federal Executive Council, and

taking as points of departure the evaluations and proposals of the working bodies of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, as well as the opinions and evaluations set forth during debate in the session of the Chamber, adopted the following

**Conclusions**

1

In the period covered by the report the Federal Executive Council, as the executive organ of the SFRY Assembly, has effectively performed its constitutional functions and has made an essential contribution by its efforts to the work and performance of the tasks of the SFRY Assembly, which is organized on the delegate principle.

Within its jurisdiction as set forth in the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council has performed large, complicated and very crucial tasks and functions. It has thereby made a sizable contribution to the continuing construction of the system of socioeconomic relations of socialist

self-management and the uniform foundations of the political system, to strengthening the country's security and defensive capability, to building up the body of federal legislation and adoption of planning documents concerning development, and to conduct of the policy governing socioeconomic and social development.

The Federal Executive Council has also made a considerable contribution to our country's successful activity on the international scene under the conditions of deteriorated international relations and to affirmation of the basic positions on matters of principle and principles of the foreign policy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, especially on behalf of preserving peace in the world, to the peaceful resolution of international disputes and development of the movement of nonaligned, and to a strengthening of our country's international position and reputation in the world.

## II

1. In the period covered by the report the Federal Executive Council has devoted considerable attention to implementing the policy of economic stabilization. It has taken a number of steps in economic policy and in other areas of the life of society. However, at times these measures have not yielded the anticipated results, one of the reasons being that they were not adopted promptly or that they set forth partial solutions. The Federal Chamber cautions that certain arrangements basic to the system are being put into effect slowly, relations based on shared income are slow to be established, and the pace has slackened in the effort to adopt the other laws regulating relations in social production on the basis of the SFRY Constitution and the concept of the Law on Associated Labor.

The Federal Chamber points out that the pace must be quickened in adopting the other laws embodying the system, since they are one of the conditions for the continuing and more complete transformation of socioeconomic relations, especially in the domains of the pooling of labor and capital and economic employment of funds for expanded reproduction, and a full-fledged program for economic stabilization needs to be drafted.

If the process of the transformation of socioeconomic relations which has begun is to be carried out effectively, the activity of social subjects [policymakers and decisionmakers--translator's note] in self-managed associated labor and in society at large needs to be determinedly directed toward consistent application of the arrangements embodying the system, especially in the domains of the credit, banking and monetary system and the insurance system, and then the arrangements embodying the system in the domain of the distribution of income, that is, the system of prices, taxes and contributions, and application of the principle of free exchange of labor. To that end the causes of the lag in applying the arrangements embodying the system in these domains need to be analyzed and identified so that they can be eliminated more effectively and the system realized more fully.



The Chamber points out that enforcement of the arrangements embodying the system requires greater civic and political responsibility and greater effort on the part of all social components in self-managed associated labor and in society at large.

2. The Federal Executive Council has made an important contribution to building up the system of federal legislation and to building the new legal system in the SFRY. More should be done in the coming period to add to the construction and improvement of Yugoslavia's legal system, above all from the standpoint of making it more efficient and from adding those legal institutions and commitments which are embodied in federal legislation, refinement of the arrangements in their technical legal aspects, and codification of particular areas of social relations.

It is an ongoing task to continue the socialization of legislative policy and the legislative process, but the objective conditions do exist in the overall sociopolitical system of the self-managed society. The socialization of legislative policy and the legislative process necessitates that all social entities be involved in all the processes of establishing the norms to govern social relations, and in particular that the working bodies of the Chamber and the joint working bodies of the SFRY Assembly and delegates' constituencies be involved in the process of preparing and adopting federal laws.

The Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies should devote more attention in their work to enforcing the established policy, federal laws and other general acts of the SFRY Assembly and should report promptly on this subject to the SFRY Assembly. The Federal Chamber and its working bodies would in that way be more involved in following up on implementation of the established policy and correction of the shortcomings detected in enforcement of laws, sublegal regulations and other general acts.

Adoption of sublegal acts is one of the basic conditions for effective and proper law enforcement. Adoption of sublegal acts should therefore be speeded up, but this applies not only to those within the jurisdiction of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies, but also to sublegal acts to implement federal laws whose implementation is in the jurisdiction of bodies and agencies in the republics and provinces. The Federal Executive Council should see that activities and the situation are monitored in these areas and should take steps to correct the problems which have arisen in enforcing federal laws and should regularly report on this to the Federal Chamber.

The effort toward a higher degree of constitutionality and legality and thereby for protection of the rights and interests of the working people and citizens and of their self-managed organizations and communities--not only in the process of adopting acts, but also in their enforcement--is a very urgent task. Consistent achievement of legality and constitutionality are required so as to correct certain discrepancies as well as certain

inconsistencies in implementing the statutes adopted. Greater attention should also be paid to distinguishing between the regulative competence of the Federation, the socialist republics, and the socialist autonomous provinces, as well as to the overall legislative relation toward the regulatory powers of opštinae and self-management regulation of organizations of associated labor and other self-managed communities.

Within the confines of the course adopted toward further improvement and construction of the legal system of the SFRY there is an objective need for the SFRY Assembly to adopt a resolution on construction and further development of the legal system of the SFRY. The Federal Executive Council will have its place and role in that work, as will also the Federal Committee for Legislation and other federal administrative agencies and the competent bodies and agencies in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces.

3. The Federal Executive Council should devote greater attention to agreements, social compacts and self-management accords. There is a need to analyse and clarify the principal causes of slowness in conclusion of agreements, social compacts and self-management accords, of nonperformance of obligations assumed and of reluctance to update the arrangements in them which are behind the times. The process of concluding agreements on basic issues cannot be reduced merely to agreements among executive organs of assemblies of sociopolitical committees. Delegate assemblies and other bodies in the Federation, the republics and autonomous provinces should become involved earlier in the procedure to reach agreement, each in accordance with its respective role. There is a need on behalf of enforcement of the policy established by agreement for further development of a system whereby agreements and accords are concluded and for enhancement of the responsibility of all participants to agreements and accords for realizing what has been agreed, and the administrative approach needs to be avoided in resolving the problems of social development, especially in the domain of socio-economic relations and the like.

4. The Federal Chamber supports the assessments of the Federal Executive Council concerning the security situation, protection of constitutional order, public security and the work of security agencies and services, as well as the efforts which have been made in this area. The high degree of security in our country is an expression of the political stability of our socialist self-managed society, of full affirmation of the foreign policy of nonalignment and of Yugoslavia's ever greater respect in the world, but also of the constant activity of the organized forces of society and all those involved in social self-protection.

The development of socialist self-managed relations that has been achieved in the country offers broad opportunities for further development of the system of social self-protection on the broadest social foundations. It is therefore necessary for the Federal Executive Council and other responsible federal agencies to take the necessary steps toward further construction

and to examine in all respects those issues which give all those involved in social self-protection an incentive to be more effective in performing their tasks.

The safety of all branches of transportation is a separate problem, one which the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly has debated on several occasions and on which it has adopted appropriate conclusions. In view of the situation with transportation safety, in the coming period the Federal Executive Council should devote particular attention to these matters and take appropriate steps so as to improve safety in all branches of transportation and report on this to the SFRY Assembly.

5. The Federal Chamber judges that important results have been achieved in continuing the construction of the system of nationwide defense, the combat readiness and the fitness and effectiveness of the YPA and armed forces as a whole have been considerably strengthened, and that its material reserves have been bolstered. Relying on the marked stability of society, political unity and the willingness of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities, working people and citizens to consistently implement the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by Comrade Tito, in this period the defensive and protective strength and capability of society as a whole to resist any pressure and aggression has become considerably stronger. The Federal Executive has in the period under review stepped up the effort to conduct policy in the domain of nationwide defense as set forth in the statutes and conclusions of the SFRY Assembly, the bases of defense plans and preparatory measures and other documents of the SFRY State Presidency.

Taking the basic conception to which we are committed as its point of departure and mindful of the ever greater strain in international relations, the Chamber considers that constant and long-term efforts are needed to strengthen the defensive and protective capability of society and that exceptional importance should be given to strengthening society's defense capability in planning and carrying out all the measures of socioeconomic development.

The Federal Executive Council should make greater efforts in future to equip federal administrative agencies for performance of the tasks of defense.

6. Far-reaching measures have been taken in the field of financing the Federation to bring the growth of federal budgetary expenditure into line with the growth of the social product and the national income; to gradually reduce financing of the federal budget by note issue; to reassess operation of the automatic system for financing the bulk of the federal budget and obligations arising out of the budget in past years: revision, performance and followup on performance of the federal budget; to make the transition from the fiscal year to the calendar year with a view toward overcoming cases of autarky in financing programs for modernization of federal bodies, agencies and organizations. This applies above all to socialization of the

procedure for examination of materials on the year-end statement and federal budget; to greater financial discipline and better organization in accordance with the principles of business efficiency and operating efficiency of those receiving appropriations from the federal budget; better and fuller use of capacities and equipment of those receiving appropriations from the budget; furnishing a mechanism for monitoring the benefits from the financial funds invested, and so on.

Though the activities and measures undertaken in the field of monitoring the use of the funds of the federal budget in 1978 and 1979 helped to improve the financial discipline of those receiving resources from the federal budget, shortcomings such as the following have still not been corrected: inadequate preventive oversight, lack of coordination of work programs of agencies responsible for oversight--the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia, the budget inspectorate and other inspectorates--the understaffing of these services, tardy institution of proceedings, etc.

In the coming period when the Federal Executive Council submits its report, it shall pay particular attention to implementation of the constitutional provisions, federal laws and other regulations on the financing of the Federation, guided above all by the established policy of the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Chamber.

7. Notable success has been achieved in carrying out the constitutional arrangements in jurisprudence, and this success has been the result of exceptional activity on the part of both the Federal Executive Council and also federal administrative agencies and federal judicial agencies, as well as of the competent agencies and bodies in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces. The process of the further socialization of the work of judicial bodies, in which the self-managed court system has a special role and significance, is taking place successfully, and judicial bodies have also made an appropriate contribution to development of the overall system of social self-protection.

In the coming period there is a need to examine the functioning of the new organization of the judicial system and the way in which substantive and adjective laws in this field are being implemented and the problems that are arising in practice. In that context there ought to be a separate evaluation of how the constitutional rights of the working people and citizens are being exercised before these bodies on the foundations of the new judicial system and the rather marked differences in the organization and jurisdiction of judicial bodies (courts especially) in the republics and autonomous provinces.

8. In the domain of social welfare policy the Chamber supports positions to the effect that appropriations to cover general and community needs need to be kept within the agreed limits. Fulfillment of that commitment means that appropriations for community and general needs have to be in line with the growth of income.



The question of how the principal indicators concerning the situation in the fields of health, social welfare and child welfare, education, housing, etc., are to be monitored has been raised in practice. It is therefore necessary that the Federal Executive Council and executive councils of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces agree as how monitoring shall be established and which are the principal indicators in these fields and which are of interest to the entire country.

In the field of social welfare policy every step should be taken in future work to implement the agreed policy set forth in the Recommendation on Conduct and Further Construction of Policy on Creation of New Jobs and the conclusions of the Chamber pertaining to the following: employment and creation of new jobs, achievement of workplace relations, policy in the field of drugs, the fitness of food and articles for personal hygiene, the environment, control of infectious diseases and pests of plants and control of infectious livestock diseases, within the competency of the Federation, and the performance of international treaties in these fields ratified by the SFRY should also be monitored.

9. With respect to development and conduct of the system of benefits for veterans and disabled veterans definite results have been achieved in strengthening the socioeconomic position of veterans and disabled veterans, in improving the health care they receive, and in other matters. The conclusions of the Federal Chamber which pertain to monitoring legality and optimum use of the resources of the federal budget earmarked for financing basic benefits of veterans and disabled veterans are not being carried out consistently.

The Law on Records on Veterans is not being implemented. In view of the importance of this matter in the coming period, there is a need for the Federal Executive Council and relevant administrative agencies to devote greater attention to this and to take the necessary steps to resolve the problems and issues in this area of social relations.

10. President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito has through his own initiative, involvement and the respect that he enjoys in the world made a great personal contribution to affirmation of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and international position. The Federal Executive Council has made significant efforts to carry out the nonaligned foreign policy of the SFRY, to develop all forms of cooperation with other states, to perform major tasks in our economic relations with foreign countries, and toward our country's more intensive activity in the movement of nonaligned countries, international organizations, especially the United Nations, and on the international scene in general. The Federal Executive Council has thereby made a visible contribution to affirmation of the constitutional principles of our foreign policy and to strengthening the independent international position and respect of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Federal Chamber specifically emphasizes the involvement of the Federal Executive Council in the period under review. In the field of expanding and improving the SFRY's relations and cooperation with the nonaligned countries and the developing countries and in programming efforts and adoption of measures to implement the decisions of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Countries in Havana.

Mindful of the problematical international conditions, the Federal Chamber stresses the need for our country's intensified activity on the international scene, above all within the framework of the movement of nonaligned countries. This also implies a continuing intensive involvement of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations toward achievement of the main goals and performance of the principal tasks of our foreign policy. All this presupposes further steps to improve the functioning of all bodies and services concerned with foreign policy in Yugoslavia, and including also diplomatic and consular, economic and other missions of the SFRY abroad, so that these bodies and services are capable of acting with maximum effectiveness in achieving the goals and performing the tasks of the foreign policy of the SFRY. Moreover, note is taken that it is a duty to pass the law on the conduct of foreign affairs within the jurisdiction of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations as a top priority.

In the future conduct of relations between the Federal Chamber and the Federal Executive Council there is a need to ensure that the Federal Chamber and its working bodies become involved in good time in our country's most important foreign political activities.

### III

1. Relations between the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council have been conducted on the foundations of the SFRY Constitution, the law on the Bases of the System of Government Administration and on the Federal Executive Council and Federal Administrative Agencies and the positions set forth by the SFRY Assembly. In future work the results achieved to date should be a point of departure, and these relations need to be improved and perfected.

2. Certain problems have arisen in the Federal Executive Council's performance of the function assigned it by the SFRY Constitution as the executive organ of the SFRY Assembly, and the Federal Chamber hereby takes note of them:

(1) In spite of the constructive results achieved in programming work, a satisfactory degree of organization and mutual cooperation has not in practice been achieved in connection with the preparation, adoption and performance of work programs and work plans. There is therefore a need for further improvement of the forms and methods of cooperation both in the process of preparing work programs and also in performance of the stated

tasks, with a view toward more effective performance of the function of the SFRY Assembly, organized on the delegate principle.

(2) Materials submitted to the Federal Chamber for consideration frequently have not been adapted to the needs of the delegates and their constituencies, because they are too wide-ranging, incomplete, do not offer alternative solutions, and so on. The materials should be furnished punctually, they should be concise and synoptic and in a form making it possible for them to be debated thoroughly and for positions to be taken.

(3) The relations of federal administrative agencies with the SFRY Assembly have as a rule been conducted through the Federal Executive Council, rather than directly, which has diminished their direct accountability to the SFRY Assembly for the situation in particular domains of the life of society. In future the direct accountability of federal administrative agencies to the SFRY Assembly should be strengthened, and they should be oriented toward showing a greater degree of independence and initiative in proposing solutions for improvement of the situation and adoption of measures in their respective domains of the life of society, within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities.

(4) The staffing of the specialized services of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies is an important factor in successful performance of the tasks and functions of those bodies and agencies. In the future period, then, more consideration needs to be taken concerning the specialized education and training of personnel in the work communities of these bodies and agencies. In solving these problems particular attention should be paid to the appropriate representation of personnel from all the republics and autonomous provinces in matters pertaining to the principal activity. Provision should also be made for more appropriate application of the principle of remuneration according to work and creation of the necessary material preconditions for implementing the established personnel policy, along with greater responsibility for performance of tasks and work duties. The Chamber supports the position of the Federal Executive Council not to increase the number of personnel employed in federal administrative agencies.

(5) Relations and cooperation of federal bodies and agencies with the respective bodies and agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces have particular importance to implementation of the constitutional concept of the Federation and of relations within it. There are still weak points and shortcomings in that cooperation, which is becoming more extensive and is being constantly enriched with new forms. In future the present methods and forms of mutual cooperation should be added to and improved. In that context the activity of interrepublic communities should be oriented toward the procedure for reconciliation of views solely concerning sublegal acts and toward cooperation in the preparation of acts, while the activity of the Coordinating Commission of the Federal Executive Council should be primarily concerned with coordination.

The Federal Executive Council should continue to make efforts to perform its constitutional function of guiding and coordinating the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations. It should devote particular attention to affirmation of the social councils and the councils in certain federal administrative agencies and councils for particular administrative areas from the standpoint of further socialization of performance of the functions of the administrative agencies.

(6) The Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies should continue to develop cooperation with sociopolitical and other public organizations at the federal level, the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, with general associations, with organizations of associated labor and other organizations and communities, with scientific and specialized institutions, in that way to ensure the conditions for effective work of the SFRY Assembly and for successful inclusion of delegates' constituencies in the process of decisionmaking concerning matters within the competency of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

It is particularly important to performance of the function of the SFRY Assembly on the delegate principle, as well as to the rights and duties of the Federal Executive Council, that more intensive use be made of advances and results of scientific creation. For that reason science and its knowledge should be incorporated more and more into the work of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies, and they should be the basis for the proposal of policy, laws, regulations and other enactments. In the period to come the Federal Executive Council should examine every opportunity for broader involvement of science in the work of proposing policy and adoption of laws, regulations and other enactments of the SFRY Assembly and for its activity to be based to a greater extent on the results of scientific research and advances.

(7) The institution of the question of the delegate should make it possible for the delegates to inform and familiarize themselves completely and quickly with current efforts and steps being taken by the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies. The answer to the question of the delegates should accordingly be given by the administrative agency as a rule in the session itself, but no later than the next session of the Chamber. In the period to come the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies should pay greater attention to more consistent implementation of the concept of the question of the delegates embodied in the constitution and the operating procedure of the Assembly.

3. Taking as its point of departure the decision of the Federal Chamber to undertake amendment of the SFRY Constitution, the Federal Executive Council shall promptly make all preparations to amend and supplement the Law on the Bases of the System of Government Administration and on the Federal Executive Council and Federal Administrative Agencies and other relevant federal laws, in accordance with work on amendments of the SFRY Constitution.



IV

1. The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, within the limits of its competence, accepts the Report on the Work of the Federal Executive Council in the Period From 16 May 1978 to the End of 1979 and approves its work.

2. In its future work the Federal Executive Council shall carry out the tasks set forth in these conclusions, mindful at the same time of the opinions, positions and proposals of the working bodies of the Federal Chamber and joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and shall report on this matter to the Federal Chamber.

3. These conclusions shall be published in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045

CSO: 2800

CHAMBER OF REPUBLICS, PROVINCES CONCLUSIONS ON FEC OPERATION

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 17, 4 Apr 80 pp 727-729

[Conclusions adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly 26 March 1980 and signed by Zoran Polic, president of the chamber]

[Text] The Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, on the basis of Article 286, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution, and Article 136 and Article 173, Paragraph 3, of the Operating Procedure of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in a session on 26 March 1980 examined within the limits of its competency the Report on the Work of the FEC [Federal Executive Council] covering the period from 16 May 1978 to the end of 1979, and, taking as its points of departure the assessments and positions of the working bodies of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and the joint working bodies of the SFRY Assembly, and the presentations and opinions and evaluations set forth during the debate in the session of the Chamber, has adopted the following

Conclusions

1

In the period covered by the report the Federal Executive Council has done its work in the context of a further strengthening and development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management and the political system of socialist self-management, as well as implementation of federal legislation adopted on the basis of the SFRY Constitution. The congresses of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the League of Communists in the republics, the conferences of the League of Communists in the provinces, the Congress of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions and activity to implement Tito's initiative concerning collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility have created very favorable general political conditions for the activity of all the organized socialist forces and for their full commitment to carrying out the agreed policy.

Thanks to these general conditions our society has in this period achieved significant results in its overall material and social development. However, socioeconomic development has also been burdened with problems that existed previously and has been accompanied by adverse tendencies, which were manifested quite significantly in this period. This period was also characterized by unfavorable developments in international economic relations, and these had a significant impact on domestic economic trends. For all these reasons the Federal Executive Council has faced very formidable tasks in performing its constitutional function under exceptionally problematical conditions.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces in spite of certain shortcomings and weak points as indicated in the debate in the sessions of the working bodies of the Federal Executive Council has in performing its constitutional functions and the tasks assigned it contributed in the period under review to the further development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management, to the construction of the sociopolitical system and to the strengthening of our country's international role and position.

## II

With respect to achievement of the goals and performance of the tasks of the Social Plan for Yugoslavia's Development in the period From 1976 to 1980 significant results have been achieved in the period under review in strengthening the material base of society and in developing the socioeconomic relations of self-management. However, shortcomings in achieving the goals and performing the tasks of development have also been manifested in this period, especially in the field of economic stabilization, economic relations with foreign countries and the economy's reproductive capability. Aside from the objective difficulties in this area, there are also numerous subjective shortcomings. The necessary coordination of work and the necessary level of organization and synchronization of the efforts of all factors in accordance with their rights and duties have not been achieved in society as a whole, especially in the domain of concluding agreements and accords, in reconciling interests and needs, and in respecting agreements and accords. Nor, aside from that, were all the measures of economic policy complete, adequately interrelated and punctual, and some of them were not even based on realistic economic assessments. The tendency to take administrative steps at all levels on certain matters was manifested for all these reasons.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces considers that the Federal Executive Council, within the limits of its rights and duties, should continue and intensify its work to correct the shortcomings noted in development policy and current economic policy, and above all to create the conditions and stimulate rational and profitable economic activity and a higher level of organization and linkage through the self-management system.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces deems it extremely important that all those making economic decisions, taking as their points of departure the conclusions of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee on implementation of the policy of economic stabilization, takes the necessary timely steps for consistent conduct of the agreed policy and enforcement of federal laws and other general enactments, and in particular performance of the tasks set forth in the Resolution on Implementation of the Yugoslav Social Plan in the Year 1980. The Federal Executive Council shall monitor and stimulate that activity, shall take timely steps within its competence and shall propose to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces adoption of appropriate measures within its jurisdiction.

It is also necessary to step up the activity of all those involved in planning toward timely preparation of planning documents for the period from 1981 to 1985 and on achieving maximum consistency in enforcing the system of social planning. To that end there is a particular need to strengthen sociopolitical activity so that self-management accords are concluded and agreements adopted in good time concerning the bases of the plan for the next planning period.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces shall furnish an evaluation of achievement of the goals and performance of the tasks set forth in the Social Plan for Yugoslavia's Development in the Period From 1976 to 1980 and the policy of economic stabilization when it conducts specific debate on those matters, which shall take place as scheduled in the Chamber's work program.

### III

In the period under review the Federal Executive Council has performed important and problematical tasks in connection with construction of the legal system and bringing federal legislation into conformity with the SFRY Constitution. Though the assemblies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, their delegations in the Chamber and working bodies had a significant role in the procedure of enactment of laws within the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, there is a need to expand legislative initiative to other authorized proponents and to ensure other bodies, agencies and organizations a larger role in the proceedings whereby laws are enacted.

There is a need in continuing work on federal legislation for more complete evaluation of shortcomings with respect to questions of delimitation of federal and republic and provincial legislation, with respect to relations between legislative enactments and self-management law, compatibility of federal laws, and other shortcomings which have shown up in practice.

On behalf of more effective monitoring of the enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and general enactments, there should be improvement in the mutual cooperation of federal, republic and provincial administrative



agencies on these matters, a system and methodology need to be developed for obtaining an insight into occurrences of incomplete and unequal enforcement of this legislation, and there is also a need for measures aimed at more consistent enforcement of the regulations issued and policy adopted.

There is also a need for timely preparation and enactment of sublegal acts and the taking of other measures for maximum consistency in the enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts and for achievement of ongoing monitoring of the process whereby they are enacted and enforced.

#### IV

In the period under review an important step has been taken toward implementing the relations between the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and the Federal Executive Council set forth in the SFRY Constitution. Discharge of obligations and responsibility of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies has also improved with respect to performance of functions and tasks set forth in the program of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. However, in the upcoming period still better cooperation should be established with respect to the drafting of work programs and plans, priorities should be established, and there should be greater selectivity in the items entered in the programs, and so that they are carried out with the greatest success, the appropriate documents need to be prepared and delivered in good time in order to correct cases of tardiness in performance of certain tasks. Also those items should be specified in the programs which require determination of the manner of participation of sociopolitical organizations, organizations of associated labor and their associations, and other participants whose cooperation is significant to performance of the functions of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, as provided for in the Operating Procedure of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

There is a need for broader use of the institution of preliminary procedure in order to clarify matters of principle and to obtain a consensus in advance concerning possible directions for finding the essential solution to issues within the competency of the Chamber. In the consideration of matters in preliminary proceedings the conditions need to be assured in the first exchange of opinions so that the influence is felt from delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations, the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia and other participants. There is a need for the Federal Executive Council to rely more on the results of preliminary proceedings in instituting procedure for adoption of certain enactments.

The judgment is that the work of the interrepublic committees in the procedure of carrying on cooperation with the respective republic and provincial bodies in preparation of acts within the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces has frequently been rather protracted and has taken on the features of reconciliation of views, which is the constitutional

function of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. In carrying on cooperation with the executive councils of the assemblies of the republics and provinces in the procedure of preparing enactments decided on by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on the basis of consent of republic and provincial assemblies the Federal Executive Council should make use of forms of cooperation which will make for more effective preparation of proposals, and the interrepublic committees should perform their role in conformity with the functions set forth in the SFRY Constitution.

The Chamber deems that the Federal Executive Council should have a still more active creative role in the procedure of reconciliation of views in the working bodies of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, taking as its points of departure its functions as set forth in the SFRY Constitution, arrangements embodying the system and the policy agreed on.

The institution of the question of the delegate should be further developed and built up as a function of one of the forms of political control and one of the ways of obtaining an insight into the situation and problems in various areas within the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. The practice whereby the Chamber and the Federal Executive Council use the institution of the question of the delegate for purposes of better examination of particular problems noted in practice, to establish the causes of their occurrence, and to take timely measures to resolve them should be further developed.

#### V

There is a need for further improvement of the conditions for consistent performance of the constitutional role and responsibility of the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and for improvement of their overall organization and their methods of operation.

The Federal Executive Council should continue to improve its constitutional function with respect to guiding and coordinating the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations. There is a need for further improvement of the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, for a higher level of their professional competence and responsibility for performance of tasks and functions assigned them, and for them to have more direct links and cooperation with scientific organizations and to rely on the results of scientific research and knowledge. The establishment of councils in particular administrative agencies or for particular administrative areas should be speeded up in accordance with the law on the Foundations of the System of Social Councils and on Federal Social Councils so as to achieve the fullest possible social influence on the work of those agencies and toward further democratization of performance of administrative functions.

A continuing effort should be made to equip the federal administration to take advantage of present-day methods of gathering and processing data and for more up-to-date forms of operation. There is also a need to achieve a higher degree of professional competence and mobility of personnel, as well as greater responsibility of the republics and provinces for the personnel makeup of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations. More efficient operation of the administration and particularly the performance of tasks related to enforcement of the SFRY Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor and other arrangements embodying the system and in connection with faster transference of government regulatory powers to associated labor, would also greatly expand opportunities for further improvement of work as a whole in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. In future operation the practice of more direct relations between the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations should be developed.

## VI

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces judges that presentation of the report on the work of the Federal Executive Council is important to achievement of the relations between the Federal Executive Council and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces set forth in the SFRY Constitution. This reporting should first of all cover the role of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations in implementing the arrangements embodying the system and the agreed policy, laws, other regulations and general enactments which the Chamber adopts. Proceeding on the basis of the suggestions and proposals made in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and its working bodies during debate of this report, in the coming period the operating procedure of the SFRY Assembly should set forth in more detail the content and character of annual reports on the work of the Federal Executive Council.

In evaluating performance of the tasks and functions in the period covered by the report, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces accepts within its jurisdiction the report of the Federal Executive Council and the presentation of the chairman of the Council. In its future work the Federal Executive Council shall take as its point of departure the views contained in these conclusions and shall be mindful of the suggestions and proposals expressed in the session of the Chamber and in the working bodies during examination of the report.

These conclusions shall be published in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045

CSO: 2800

## NONSELF-MANAGING, AUTOCRATIC CONDUCT IN SESVETA OPSTINA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 80 pp 22-23

[Article by Salih Zvizdic: "The Tangled Web Is Becoming Untangled"]

[Text] The "Sesveta case" is slowly coming to an end: it is already obvious at this time that we are talking about an easily recognized small group of individuals who are hiding behind the screen of the delegates to the Municipal Assembly. However, it is a problem for them that they can easily be recognized for what they are, much like their frequently chameleonic positions. But it is this very recognizability that is the best guarantee that the democratic and autonomous forces in the Municipality of Sesveta will succeed in clearing up the troubled relations and turn to the creative tasks after suffering as little trauma as possible.

The Municipality of Sesveta, which like any other in this day and age has plenty to do with regard to the stabilization and various economic and other measures, is unfortunately forced to continue to lose plenty of time in seeking the solution to the Sesveta situation, which has been known to the public for some time. Luckily, things are untangling and the day seems to be near when all that will go never to return.

To give a bit of background: we are talking about two labor organizations in Sesveta--the Prigorka (mountain fairy), industry of building materials, and the OOUR [Basic Organization of Associated Labor] of the Sljeme (ridge) factory producing animal feed--and about the municipal administration in which nonautonomous procedures and autocracy prevailed for years, thanks to strong teamwork between the managers of these labor organizations and the municipal managers. Among them is prominently mentioned the president of the Municipal Assembly of Sesveta, Marijan Kos.

In a lengthy article which appeared on 26 January of this year under the title "The Powerful Man from Sesveka," we cited the details about the teamwork of a few powerful persons in Sesveta who penalized the workers in many different ways, among them expulsion from the League of Communists and the collective, because they dared to warn against the violation of autonomous rights, squandering of property and manipulation of people.



Several newspapers in this country, in our republic and in other republics and provinces, have noted the disturbed autonomous relations in Sesveta, which in the case of Prigorka have been smoldering all of 3 years, with workers going to the courts to claim their rights--eventually obtained.

### The Illusion of Infallibility

In the chronology of these disagreeable events we should also mention the fact that on 14 January 1980 the "Sesveta Situation" was brought before the meeting of the President's Council of the Trade Union Congress of Croatia. Somewhat earlier it had come before the Commission of the Central Committee of the LCY of Croatia, which deals with petitions and complaints. Finally it came before the Commission of the Council of the Trade Union Congress of Croatia, which protects the autonomous rights of workers. The President's Council condemned such shenanigans, and the resolutions established, among other things, that "certain management cadres in the Municipality of Sesveta, separately the president of the Municipal Assembly of Sesveta, not only failed to give support to the realization of the autonomous rights of workers as determined by the constitution and the ZUR [Law on Administrative Proceedings], but were allied with the supervisory bodies, and through the authority of their sociopolitical function, defended those forces which acted in a nonautonomous way."

It is conspicuous that several documents relevant to the violation of autonomous rights of workers in Sesveta, mention the name of the president of the Municipal Assembly of Sesveta, Marijan Kos, who is in his 11th year as president of the Municipal Assembly, even though he is retired. The name of the president of Sesveta's Assembly, behind which stands the empty phrase about his infallibility and omnipotence, sticks out like a sore thumb in several undesirable situations in which excesses were noted. There are several examples in which the president had a "final word" and with the authority of his position, as well as that of a 1941 freedom fighter, he gave his blessings to a series of nonautonomous decisions. Then the secretary of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists, Slavko Biskup, stood firm by the president. He added the color of political support to the pot of administrative autocracy of the president of the municipality, which confused many well-meaning citizens and social workers in the municipality. This, as well as some other circumstances based on the imaginary support given to the president of the municipality and the then committee secretary of the LCY of Croatia, created an illusion among many people that "the president is not alone," that he has the broadest authority perhaps because "the LCY" stands behind him, and that "even the republic's authorities cannot do anything to the president."

### The Untangling Has Started

Let us see now how matters stood in Sesveta following the 17th conference of the Trade Union Congress of Croatia, where a number of speakers

sharply condemned the nonautonomous measures by individuals in Sesveta Municipality and sought sharp political and social sanctions, all of which is written down in the conference resolutions.

The municipal trade union council in Sesveta subsequently held five meetings. The Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia held as many, and similar meetings were also held by the Federation of Veterans' Associations of the People's Liberation War and the youth organization. The materials concerning the excess situation were thoroughly examined and for many participants in these meetings this was the first more-detailed familiarization with matters which they had known about for years, but also had said quietly would "never be solved."

The basic purpose of these meetings was to clarify the situation. In this effort, no decision was to be made "from above," but the basic organizations of the Trade Union Congress and the LCY as well as the workers' meetings in all business organizations, institutions, establishments and local associations in the municipality of Sesveta, above all should become familiar with the materials. It was said before that a decision would be made on a higher municipal level only after matters had been clarified "at the base" and after concrete proposals had been made.

When speaking about this, Tomo Blazinovic, the secretary of the committee of the Conference of the LCY of Croatia, said: "Finding the solution to this concrete situation is not our only goal on this occasion. We also want a thorough clarification of some concepts and to inspire an effort toward solution of other similar cases (if there are such in other milieus), which have not been exposed to the public view, or openly discussed because of internal pressures."

The working men of Prigorka, the Sljeme animal feed factory and the municipal administration have specially considered all these materials and resolutions of the party municipal committee and the trade union council of the municipality. However, the earlier mentioned resolutions were accepted by the three organizations in three different ways.

At the Sljeme animal feed factory the resolutions were accepted, the perpetrators of deviations were condemned, and the party punishments were even pronounced.

At the Prigorka enterprise, several meetings were held on the subject, but because some individuals asked for additional explanations, the meetings were repeated. A critical appraisal of deviations was accomplished after a lengthy and democratic discussion.

Within the party organization of the municipal administration, of which Marijan Kos is also a member and which has only 8 members (out of 62 members of the League of Communists in the municipal administration), the resolutions of the municipal party and trade union leadership were not

accepted. This also shows the likely determination of that man to impose his own views on others, even though the dimensions of the untangling process are such that many realize the essence of the plot and clearly identify those individuals who created the tangle. It should be emphasized, however, that in the municipal administration as a whole, that is in the area where there was maximum obstruction, some matters are beginning to be solved. Four of the eight retirees employed in responsible positions in the municipal administration have left their jobs and a fifth will soon follow them. The accusations brought out in a petition by 12 municipal workers complaining against disturbed human relations and manipulation of people in that milieu were not invented, which can be seen from the fact that three of the retirees were penalized by the party. One was expelled from the LCY, and two received warnings from the party. Obviously, the developments show how the old conceptions about invulnerability of people who "can do anything," are breaking down in that milieu.

### The Silenced Socialist Alliance

It is conspicuous that the entire action relative to the untangling of the situation in Sesveta did not involve more deeply the organizations of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People. [SAWP] In other words the voice of the Municipal Conference of the SAWP of Croatia in Sesveta was not heard at the meetings. Comrades from the Trade Union Congress and the Committee of the LCY of Croatia say that the said organization is apologizing by saying that it did not have a quorum and that for this reason the meeting of the Municipal Conference of the SAWP of Croatia was not held. Thus, because of the lack of a quorum, the forces seeking a way out of the complicated situation in the Municipality of Sesveta, the membership of the largest municipal organization, also did not meet.

Is it really that a quorum can for decades benumb to such extent the already tested mobility and readiness of this mass organization to help in recuperation of some disturbed relations in certain segments of the society? No, that is not the point, say those in the know. The crucial point is Slavko Biskup is at the head of the Municipal Conference of the SAWP of Croatia, and that is the same man who once, as the secretary of the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia, supported the conditions from which the currently disturbed autonomy and other relations in the municipality stemmed. Therefore, this case is not just an accident.

In passing, let us mention also this fact: Slavko Biskup, who is a young man, in addition to his job as the presiding officer of the Municipal Conference of the SAWP of Croatia, simultaneously performs the duties of the president of the Commission for Cadre Questions of the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia. In addition, he is also a delegate in the Council of Municipalities in the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, president of the Coordinating Committee for Cadres in the municipality, and has several other important managerial functions in the municipality.

Blavko Biskup is employed in a managing capacity in the Thermo-mechanics enterprise in Sesveta, so it can be expected that the party organization there will very likely have to examine his responsibility for the events which occurred in the municipality during the time he managed its political life, as well as his current stands as the president of the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia. Looking at it objectively, at the moment Biskup maintains the same views as the president of the municipality, and in this way he is obstructing the efforts toward the untangling of things, instead of helping to have the municipality rescued as early as possible from the whirlpool of unhealthy passions stirred up when the technocracy and the municipal political bureaucracy team up.

Stanislav Hrpka, president of the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia, is also somewhat passive and isolated from the efforts to clear up the relations within the municipality. Even though this position on Hrpka's part may possibly be explained by his earlier friendship with individuals responsible for the complicated nature of the Sesveta situation, the politicians of that municipality nevertheless say that such a stand in the situation at this time cannot be politically justified.

#### The Stormy Meeting

What Marijan Kos tried to do at the meeting of three municipal councils in January, in an effort to justify his stands and gain support of those men most responsible for discussing everything and crystalizing views, is truly a great rarity in the practice of democratic discussions and decisions. Knowing very well that the resolutions of the Municipal Committee of the Conference of the LCY of Croatia and the Municipal Committee of the Trade Union Congress, citing new dimensions in the Sesveta situation, would be unpleasant for him, Kos, as president of the assembly, quickly called the delegates of all three municipal councils and handed them materials concerning the Sesveta situation which were formulated to suit him and those who share his views.

At the beginning of the meeting, Kos emphasized that the Municipal Assembly could not remain uninvolved in the events taking place and pleaded with the delegates to discuss his "materials based on facts." In other words, these were not the materials discussed and decided upon by the party and trade union membership of the "incriminated" collectives, nor were these among the numerous up-to-date resolutions and discussions on that subject that took place at the meetings of the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia and the Municipal Council of the Trade Union Congress!

The secretary of the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia, Tomo Blazinovic, immediately warned the delegates at the meeting of the Municipal Assembly that they would not have an overview of the situation if they did not also have in their possession the materials and resolutions from the meetings of the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia and the



Municipal Council of the Trade Union Congress. Therefore, he proposed that before the discussion began, the delegates should familiarize themselves with these materials, and as a last resort that the materials should at least be read at the meeting. But, President Kos, knowing well that the materials mentioned by the secretary were totally contrary to "facts," rejected the proposal. True enough, he "permitted" the possibility for the materials to be read, but only after the delegates took their positions with regard to the materials he supplied to them and which supported him.

An uncomfortable situation developed, a situation until then unrecorded in the relations between the municipal administration and the municipal sociopolitical organization. However, the stir in the auditorium indicated that Blažinović's proposal was fully justified. In an attempt to save what could be saved, the president, faithful to his style of going to extremes, requested the delegates to express their views by voting on whether or not the materials of the committee and the Trade Union Congress should be read at all. The vote confirmed what the president did not want: they should be read! Subsequently, they were read by Tomo Blažinović and Drago Malic, the presiding officer of the Municipal Council of the Trade Union Congress.

Kos was upset because these materials spoke about the connivance between individuals in the municipal administration and those in the management structure in Prigorka and the animal feed factory. He maintained that there was no such thing and requested the delegates to express their views on this by voting. Again, he suffered a defeat as the delegates voted that connivance did exist!

The data are available in the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia showing that before the meeting of the Municipal Assembly, some individuals visited the municipal delegates suggesting to them how to vote on the measures introduced by the president. But it did not go according to plans. It did not come out according to plans at the end of the conference either when the president requested the delegates to declare by vote whether they accepted the resolutions of the Municipal Committee and the Council of the Trade Union Congress. The result of the vote on whether to adopt the resolutions was 54 in favor, 32 against, and 16 abstaining!

All of the president's skillful effort to avoid the unpleasant blow at the meeting failed, in spite of the effort by him and by some persons closest to him who went all out in trying to divert the flow of the debate to their advantage by posing all sorts of questions and interruptions. The minority which supported the president's views really belongs to the narrower circle of the municipal structure, which at the moment is in conflict with the sociopolitical organizations in the municipality because of its stands.

## They Refuted Their Own Stand

The earlier documents containing accusatory materials also mention the fact that Marijan Kos' two daughters occupy leadership positions in the municipal administration. It is said that one of them as editor of the information monthly, SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN, gives a particular slant to information meant for the people of the municipality. The president energetically rejected this comment much as he rejected all others, but fate saw to it that the SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN inadvertently denied the veracity of the president's rebuttal.

SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN No 112 for January 1980, published three documents in its typical manner insinuating "everybody is lying except us." The entire third page carried under the common title "We Condemn the Biased Information," a letter from the workers of the animal feed factory which mainly discusses the production successes of the plant, but not the deviations which caused the workers earlier to seek the protection of their autonomous rights. Within the framework of the title, a letter from the SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN Editorial Committee is also to be found. The letter maintains that the paper is not "in the hands of individuals," but that it is "edited by an editorial committee," whose members are such and such, and among them being, aside from Marijan Kos' daughter, also Marijan Kos, Slavko Biskup, Stjepan Bakran, Obrad Bjelica, Tomo Blažinović, Drago Malić and others. Their names were cited one by one.

Page 6 of the same issue of SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN carries an article titled "About Us and Around Us," which defends the stands taken by the municipal administration.

And now, in connection with this issue of SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN, here is a resolution reached by the Seseveta Municipal Council of the Trade Union Congress of Croatia (by the way, this is why we mentioned the above example), announced under No 40, of 29 February 1980. It says that at the meeting of the Municipal Council of the Trade Union Congress of 28 February 1980, under item 3, the following resolution was adopted and we cite it verbatim:

"With regard to the article published in SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN, No 112, of January 1980, this council disassociates itself from the article on page 3, which stated "We Condemn Biased Information," and the article on page 6, titled "About Us and Around Us!"

"It has also been established that on the occasion of the meeting of the editorial committee a remark was submitted suggesting that these articles should not be published. However, in spite of the suggestion, the articles were published.

"This Council is directing a severe criticism to the editorial committee, which should have published the resolutions of the Presidency of the Trade Union Congress of Croatia, resolutions of the Municipal Committee of the

LCY of Croatia and the Municipal Trade Union Council of Sesveta, in order to provide proper information to the public.

"It was also established that the next issue of SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN, No 113 of February 1980, also failed to publish the resolutions cited above.

"The Municipal Trade Union Council of Sesveta requests the Presidency of the SAWP of Sesveta to call the Editorial Committee of the SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN into session and to inform this council in writing about their resolutions."

For the Municipal Trade  
Union Council of Sesveta  
Presiding Officer

(Signed) Malic Drago

That was an example of the way in which the editorial committee edits the SESVETA NEWS BULLETIN and who in reality pulls the strings in that organization. By the way, until 12 March, the requested response from the Presidency of the SAWP of Sesveta has not reached the Municipal Trade Council.

In addition to a good annuity as a retiree, Marijan Kos was entitled to a certain monetary compensation for the performance of the function of president of the Municipal Assembly, which he declined. According to him, he requested that "the entire amount of the compensation be deposited in the account of the municipality." He emphasized this fact, showing perhaps how selfless his voluntary social work truly is. Indeed, there were also some stories that he waived the pay because when added to his annuity, it would exceed the allowed nontaxable amount, and there would be little profit from it. However, the president said that the pay was added to the budget and the stories stopped.

But, suddenly something happened that destroyed even this myth of volunteerism. On 4 March this year, the president, so they tell us in the Municipal Committee, submitted a request to the Municipal Finance Committee, registered under No 901/80, to have all of that money paid to him which he had deposited "into the municipal budget" since 1976. The amount is a little over 700,000 dinars. It was decided to pay him all that money, but only after the taxes and some previous debts to the municipal treasury had been taken out.

#### Distrust of the President

In conclusion, let us also mention the meeting of Sesveta's Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia, which was held on 10 March of this year. Here the situation in the municipality was discussed and it was decided to send all 86 basic party organizations the materials for discussion.

Among other things, it was also decided that next Tuesday a definitive debate should start on what has been done on this point in the municipal committee, how it was done, and how much criticism and self-criticism happened to be there. There was also talk about the need for responsibility and punishment of individuals if resolutions are adopted in these matters.

At the 10 March meeting of Sesveta's LCY Committee a very important decision was also reached. It concerns President Marijan Kos, against whom a vote of no confidence was reached. When we asked what that decision means, we were told by the Municipal Committee of the LCY of Croatia the following:

"From the committee's 'no confidence' vote against Marijan Kos can be concluded that certain political and other views held by him are not the views of the Committee of the Municipal Conference of the LCY of Croatia, and that we cannot support him in that respect."

From this, they point out, can be concluded that this "no confidence" vote can be understood to be a suggestion to the president to resign from his current position, even though he still has 2 years to go until the end of his third (!) such electoral mandate. Certainly, this suggestion by the committee does not have to be adopted by the delegates of the Municipal Assembly, nor are they bound to discuss the resignation. The president was elected by the delegates of the Municipal Assembly who are the only ones who can vote no confidence against him. Judging from the mood of the delegates, such a solution is possible.

And, to conclude. If matters are reduced to simple denominators, it is obvious that here there was no word about a conflict between the delegates in the Municipal Assembly and the sociopolitical organizations in the municipality, even though some would have liked that. Obviously, we are talking about a small group of easily recognized individuals who more or less openly share the views of the president of the assembly, while hiding behind the screen of the delegates body in the assembly. It is a misfortune for them, however, that both they and their thinly camouflaged views are easily recognizable. And it is this easy identifiability that is the best guarantee that the democratic and autonomous forces in the Municipality of Sesveta will be successful in clearing up the disturbed relations with as little trauma as possible and then turn to creative tasks.

8512  
CSO: 2800



RESENTMENT AGAINST RISING ELECTRICITY RATES EXPRESSED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 80 pp 20-21

[Article by Zvonko Longar: "Threats of Darkness"]

[Text] Have we signed a blank check to the electric industry?

We should give up the habit of collecting money for new investments exclusively from taxes paid by all consumers.

When it is publically indicated that the cost of electric energy is likely to rise, we are inclined to think that this is fate. Being afraid the darkness may be threatening us again, we have signed a kind of blank check to the electric industry. We agree to everything just to avoid the repetition of what happened last winter.

Still, would this not be the moment to ask ourselves how long the threat of darkness is going to be an argument which is called upon whenever a new price for electric energy is being requested? Besides, could we not satisfy the ever-increasing needs for electric power in some other way, and not exclusively through higher and new taxing of all consumers?

Poorly Selected Priorities

No one in Yugoslavia has the latest data, but there is sufficient evidence that the cost of electric energy in our country has come very close to the cost in some West European countries, and that in some cases the cost here has gone beyond that. This, among other things, can be concluded from the data received in April 1978 by the Community of Yugoslav Electric Industry from representatives of several European countries. Using these data, in January 1978 Yugoslavia was among the four most expensive countries with respect to the cost of energy to the smaller industrial consumers. Only Austria, West Germany and the Netherlands stood ahead. A similar tendency could be observed in the case of households which consume a little more electric power. In all of this, we must not forget that during the past 2 years Yugoslavia registered a higher inflation rate than many West European countries and that in the meantime the cost of electric energy to the consumer was raised two or three times, on the average by 15 to 20 percent.

There is no doubt that such jumps in price occur primarily because of a still very large hunger for electric power. Only 15 years ago consumption in our country rose yearly by 16 percent. This should be attributed partly to the intensive electrification. From 1958 to 1970, the number of populated locations with electricity rose from 60 to 90 percent and today electrification exists in 93 percent of populated settlements. An increase in consumption followed later because of the introduction of electric equipment in households, which was a natural consequence of a higher living standard.

Similar examples could also be produced in the economy, although it is more important at this time to note that the consumption of electric energy in our country during the past few years has been growing somewhat slower. In 1970, in comparison with 1969, the consumption rose 9.8 percent. In 1976, in relation to the previous year, the increase was only 8.9 percent. Thus, Yugoslavia came nearer to the more developed countries, where the electric consumption doubles every 12 to 15 years.

However, in spite of a proportionally somewhat smaller increase in consumption, investments in the electric industry require considerable sums of money. One of the reasons is certainly that absolute requirement figures are still growing. However, knowledgeable persons maintain that Yugoslavia is paying through its nose because of poorly selected priorities. True enough, these priorities may have been well selected after all, if individual parts of the country are separately taken into consideration. This is not so, however, if the unique Yugoslav system for using electric energy is considered. Some more expensive projects, like the one in Kraka, should have been, according to some of our economists, left for better times. Without denying that Yugoslavia also must step into the era of nuclear electric energy, the many believe that, in an economic sense, an error in strategy was made by not giving the Drina River an absolute priority in the first phase. And this priority should not be given to just any of the plants within the basin of this river, but to those projects known for their economical operation. Unfortunately, power stations were built which produced exceptionally expensive power. This could not be covered even by the highest tariffs. Not to speak of power plants run by crude oil, which is an increasingly more expensive fuel, petroleum having become a first-class political weapon in world affairs during the past few years.

From time to time there are "leaks" due to indiscretions, telling us about many other details concerning conditions in the electrical industry, which are also in this or that way connected with prices. Because there is no agreement about the use of surplus electricity, there is an overflow of cheap energy in two of our republics while the needs of others are taken care of by power plants which produce considerably more expensive electricity per kilowatt hour. That, in the final analysis, again is paid for by the consumer. If nothing else, this reduces the money available for investment.

## An Illusion of Fairness

The dinar is being spent in the electrical industry in an irrational way also because of the fact that we are not as yet ready to move to remote-control operation of electric power plants. At first glance, it is in the interest of national economy for even the smallest relay station to employ someone. It is difficult to resist such a temptation when there are so many unemployed persons knocking on the door of the economy. However, elsewhere in our world, such controversies were taken off the agenda a long time ago. Wherever it is possible the physical presence of a human is eliminated from the production of electric energy. That is, therefore, one item on which others are saving while we are loosing.

The existing relationships in this sector of the economy also greatly contribute to this loss. Even though the associations representing interests of both producers and consumers exist in all of our republics and autonomous regions, except in one or two, prices continue to be decided mainly arbitrarily! The regional and republic associations in the electric industry determine this in cooperation with the executive authorities, not with consumers. In other words, instead of the state withdrawing from this area, its role has grown during the past years.

Understandably, eyes must not be closed to some facts. To collect money needed for investment in a voluntary, autonomous way is very difficult in our country. Investments in the electric industry are no exception, especially since in most cases big money is needed. Because of this, the state often steps on the scene with its own logic. Since times immemorial its favored instrument has been taxation. By establishing prices for electric energy, the state in fact employs the fiscal method in raising money for the new installations in the electric industry. And since the state is in such cases an equally good mother and a bad stepmother for all, such encroachments regularly affect everybody. In order to preserve the appearance of fairness, higher prices are paid by all. Most often the amount within the higher price which is earmarked for development is also the same for all. Such justice, however, frequently leads to all sorts of irrationalities.

Why should the contributions to the new capacity to produce energy be the same for all consumers if this capacity is being increased to secure heat and fuel for new industries, new housing developments and other structures? Would it not be more natural to include the money needed for expansion of sources of energy in the investment programs for new projects?

True enough, it would be economic foolishness to transfer the entire burden of future investments in the electric industry to the new economic projects. That would also be unfair because all calculations confirm that the consumption of electric energy is not growing only on account of new consumers. In the interest of truth, however, the increase in consumption among the most important categories of consumers is proportionally on the decrease; but looking at it in absolute terms, the consumption of electric energy is on the rise. Thus, in 1970, in comparison with the previous year, the

consumption by households rose 15.5 percent. In 1978, in comparison with 1977, consumption rose only 8.4 percent. A similar situation prevails in industry. Consumption is rising somewhat slower, but this economic sector continues to consume nearly 60 percent of the electric energy produced in the country.

We can draw at least one conclusion from the above figures: the old consumers must also think of ways to secure the more widespread form of energy for tomorrow. But that in no way means that they would have to pay the entire bill. The larger part of the burden should nevertheless be the responsibility of new investors in economic and other projects.

To introduce changes of this kind, however, it is necessary for the state to give up prescribing prices which burden all consumers equally. The state must not be indifferent to whether or not there is going to be enough energy tomorrow. On the contrary, the state authorities should be expected to encourage a direct agreement among the interested groups and the collection of money for investment in an autonomous way. The state authorities should not replace all this by its compulsory decisions.

Clearing the way for new habits in this area of economic life could bring at least two benefits.

First, an important step would be made toward a new practice which would disallow others to assume financial responsibility for unsuccessful investments. Abandoning the current method of collecting the money for new projects in the electric industry would, without doubt, be helpful in this respect. Many irresponsible investment efforts would be made impossible before it became too late, because the investors would be forced to give serious thought to the magnitude of the venture of developing new sources of energy. This would, in turn, force them to sit down and reconfirm on paper the accuracy of their calculations, and thus once again soberly consider what they were getting into.

Secondly, in this way, the construction of new power plants and other energy installations would have a lesser influence on the price of electric energy. Thus, there would be less frequent movement in its prices. In this way a chain reaction among other products would also be avoided. This is because electric energy has been for some time now a part of the economic lifeline, and every rise in its price has very serious consequences.

Is this not enough to inspire also thinking about a fundamental reform in the electric industry?

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## SERBIA AMENDING LEGISLATION ON HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1522, 9 Mar 80 pp 6-7

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic]

[Text] Important news comes about the just prepared draft law on housing construction in Serbia. Will yet another attempt at introducing economically realistic rents and greater investments of personal money for privately owned apartments have more supporters than previously? Is a "roof over one's head" primarily a social concern for all employed in the social sector of the economy? With acquisition of an apartment, does the obligation for setting aside funds regularly, to provide housing for those who lack it, end?

The economic category that, in a year of savings and stabilization, has been left out of all the lists of restrictions is housing construction. At the crucial moment at which investment policies are being coordinated with the material potential of the society, housing construction has not been limited by a single measure. On the contrary, everything is being done to speed it.

The most essential and certainly the most concrete data in support of this assertion are the Draft Conclusions on the Further Activities in the Development of Self-Management Sociopolitical Relationships in the Housing Construction and Communal Sector, adopted 15 days ago at a meeting of all three councils of the Serbian Assembly. This draft conclusion, together with several supplementary laws and social agreements, is presently in the public discussion stage, but it is anticipated that after debate it will be approved in April. As has been repeated in several places, it is a matter of a major turning point in housing policy. The draft offers several decisions that are being seen for the first time in this sector, including the approach of setting aside capital for housing construction from net profit, and gradual conversion by 1984 to so-called economically realistic rents. Also, in the future interest communities will not be able to be the investors in housing.

## In Serbia in the Last 3 years, Only Half the Planned Apartments Were Built

By their final acceptance, all of these measures will probably undergo certain changes. There remains, however, the incontrovertible fact that they are to the benefit of those people who do not have a roof over their head and they should be changed or supplemented only if new proposals offer better and more acceptable resolutions for more rapid and cheaper construction of apartments.

In analyzing everything that has been done in this sector in years past, no cause for any great optimism emerges. In comparison with the 1970s, some decline in housing construction could rather be noted.

At the moment in Serbia proper (the new document relates exclusively to this part of the republic) there is a shortage of about 125,000 apartments. The difficulty lies precisely in the fact that in some smaller towns, which people are leaving in search of work, there are more apartments than are needed! The shortage of housing is felt the most in about 40 larger cities, where about 33 percent of the population lives.

The present intermediate plan for housing construction will not be fulfilled. From 1976 until June of last year, only 103,387 apartments were completed, or about 49 percent of the planned number! Of the total number of apartments built, 45,172 belong to the public sector, while the larger part of the total is individually owned. Although later in the period the pace increased, the lost time unfortunately could not be regained.

One of the essential reasons for the lag is "the insufficient preparation for the transition from building housing for the market, to building housing intended for the social sector." The point of departure was the clearly asserted fact that in this intermediate developmental plan, more apartments would be built if all participants adhered to the social agreements and, especially to their own tasks. The money that was spent could have built more apartments, if it had not been squandered. Instead, at times we built overlarge and luxurious apartments and simply went for the highest possible prices.

In seeking a way out of this relatively difficult situation, the Executive Council proposed a large number of measures. The basic aim was more rapid and cheaper construction of apartments.

There are two reasons for choosing such a broad public discussion of policies. First, it is not a matter of a formal consideration of matters, but rather it is a broad sociopolitical action in which workers should be the basic decisionmakers and the implementers of the overall housing policy. The draft conclusions should be discussed in every local community, in basic organizations of associated labor, and in opstinas. Only in this manner can the housing problems be resolved more quickly, to eliminate those that have become obstacles to more rapid development. Secondly,

an Krsta Abramovic, vice president of the Executive Council stated, it is not possible to set aside greater sums than are now being set aside from the national social profit. If that is so, where then is the solution? Avramovic stated that it must be sought in the greater involvement of personal resources and in more rational use of public resources. The housing problem can no longer be resolved by public resources alone. Efforts are being made, with the help of associated labor, to attain short-term and long-term programs for housing construction. In that manner, the security of the builders would be assured without raising prices as the solution.

#### How to Obtain An Apartment With One's Own Capital

Article 13 of the draft states that "personal capital for the satisfaction of housing needs must have a considerably greater importance in the coming period for financing housing construction." The forms of personal capital involvement include: 1) acquisition of an apartment as private property; 2) acquisition of a joint ownership; and 3) participation in the acquisition of a socially owned apartment.

Of these three possible options, so far only the first has been utilized: acquisition of an apartment as private property. The other two, then, are new approaches and have yet to be applied, after adoption of the draft. Today there are few people who can set aside more than a million dinars to purchase an apartment. Finally, even if there are such people, most of them are already living in publically owned apartments. At this level of economic development, it is estimated, the most acceptable variation for assuring a roof over one's head is the new, joint ownership relationship.

To simplify the entire situation, we will explain the manner in which a joint ownership relationship would work.

There are many families living in apartments that are unsuitable for them. Let us take as an example a family of four living in a two-room apartment and can never get a chance to obtain expanded quarters, but would be willing to spend some of its own money. In the future they will be able to turn in their two-room apartment and obtain a three-room apartment if they pay for that third space with their own money. They would then pay rent only for the part of the apartment that is publically owned. The law on Joint Ownership offers the possibility of adding to one's portion of private ownership right up to complete purchase of the publically owned part of the apartment. Normally, that will be possible only after a market revaluation of the apartment's value, and not at the price at which the apartment was originally bought or evaluated.

The law contains a number of additional exemptions. The most essential, in the writer's opinion, are that, first, if someone is living in an antiquated apartment and invests capital for its renovation, he automatically

becomes a joint owner of a portion equal to his investment for renovating the apartment. When citizens in some housing group for example, pay for sewer systems, transit stations or waterlines, then they become joint owners of the socially owned apartments in which they live.

Finally, in the third variant, participation in the acquisition of a socially owned apartment, NIN offers only straight information without evaluation of the proposals being offered. Nevertheless, it must be noted that there have been many comments concerning this proposal.

#### An Obligation for Investment of Capital Is also Being Introduced for the Construction of Apartments for Those Who Already Have Socially Owned Apartments

The social agreement, which is also being discussed publicly, anticipates two forms of participation of private money in housing construction, prepayment for housing rights and deposits. These investment obligations relate to present holders of housing rights, meaning those who at present have socially owned apartments, as well as to those who do not have a roof over their heads. Thus, it is not a question of who will invest, but rather one of how much money will be set aside for housing construction. Labor organizations are in a situation where only self-management agreements can decide the amount to be paid for housing rights and deposits. In fact, in the draft social agreement on the involvement of private capital in the use and construction of socially owned apartments, the level of participation for housing rights is supposed to be at the highest 20 percent of the established cost of construction of the apartment. The level of this sum of money will depend on the monthly income per family member in relation to the average personal income in Serbia from the previous year.

In households where the members receive from 3,000 to 4,000 dinars monthly, the contribution for housing will be 168-250 dinars; with income of 4,000-5,000 dinars, the contribution will be 250-420 dinars, with 5,000-6,000 dinars income, 420-583 dinars; with 6,000-7,000 dinars income, 583-834; with 7,000-8,000 dinars income, 834-1,084; and with 8,000-9,000 dinars income, 1,084-1,250 dinars. Where monthly income per family member is more than 9,000 dinars, the contribution for housing will be 1,250-1,670 dinars monthly. For families whose average monthly income per member is less than 3,000 dinars and families whose income is below 60 percent of the average income in the Serbian Republic, an exemption from payment of any contribution will be made. Payment will last for a decade and will be returned with 2 percent interest starting 5 years from the payment of the first installment.

Should anyone wish and be able, instead of prepayment for housing rights, to pay a deposit, this may be done one single time. The deposit shall be at least 10 percent of the value of the apartment and shall also be returned with 2 percent interest after the person leaves the apartment, or 5 years after the deposit was paid.



As Vice President Avramovic added, "We have offered several options for the involvement of private capital. The process will not, however, be easy or simple. It will be most difficult to convince people that no one can have special privileges, that all must participate with their own money. We have to establish equality between those who have received socially owned apartments and those who are waiting for a roof over their head. The relationships of needs with completed apartments must be changed fundamentally. Noneconomic rents are ruining that wealth. From now until 1984, we must gradually increase rents in order to assure sufficient funds to maintain the apartments constructed."

"The conclusions propose resolutions in which capital for housing construction is to be set aside from net profits, and funds for mutual investments in apartments are to come from income. These apartments are predicated on the determination that only earned capital can be expended for housing." This statement was in the introductory remarks of Zivana Olbina, member of the Serbian Executive Council, at the session of the sociopolitical council. She continued, "Some organizations of associated labor will not be able to earmark money, thus they will have to increase the mutual capital amount. The agreement will also determine the categories of working people and citizens for whom mutual capital obligations are the most needed. It is significant that all public forces must take a positive stand toward this proposal, for it is necessary that private capital first be invested in housing construction, and only thereafter spent for other consumer goods. There is no doubt that self-management interest communities should not be investors and take over the role of the direct producers. The investors must be organizations of associated labor and other subjects who have capital available. They are the ones who must be directly involved in making contracts for housing construction, selecting builders, and determining prices..."

Today the most modern apartment can be built in Yugoslavia without importing a single item. Yugoslav builders are highly sought after and valued beyond the country's borders. Thus much praise can be given to the people who built apartments. There remains, however, the fact that when the price of an apartment is in question, Yugoslavia ranks among the most expensive places in Europe.

One of the new measures will be the introduction of price controls for housing construction. That will be a new feature in Yugoslavia. Anyone among the producers, architects and others who participate who does not fit into the publically determined price will have to provide reasons. In addition, the price of an apartment must be freed from unnecessary loads. Heretofore the price of an apartment has also included administration of the housing project, the building of public facilities and shops, etc.

## NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION HIGHER IN 1979

Belgrade NASA STAMPA in Serbo-Croatian Feb-Mar 80 p 10

[Text] In 1979, the circulation of daily newspapers was 5 percent higher than in 1978. According to the data of the Business Community of Newspaper Publishers of Yugoslavia, the circulation of daily newspapers in 1979 increased 5 percent as compared to 1978. This applies both to published and net paid circulation.

A circulation increase was noted in all newspapers except for three. The greatest circulation increase occurred with the evening and sports papers. A large increase was also noted with the newspaper RILINDJA, where the net paid circulation increase was 50 percent above that of the increase in number of papers published. On the other hand, this was also the highest increase to occur among daily newspapers. The net paid circulation of RILINDJA this year is 24 percent higher than last year.

Of the evening newspapers, VECERNJE NOVOSTI and EKSPRES POLITIKA each increased 8 percent, whereas VECER of Skopje rose 24 percent.

If the fact is kept in mind that at the half-year point of 1979, daily newspaper prices were increased about 33 percent, and that the prices for all editions during the week were set at 4 dinars from 3 and the Sunday editions were set at 5 dinars from 3, then such an increase in circulation with unsold copies kept at practically the same level can be deemed--considered very successful.

This is so because the prices were raised at a relatively inopportune time for an increase in circulation, and in addition, circulations did not drop, but rather maintained the trend toward increase that began in 1977 and 1978.

Total circulation of daily newspapers of over 2.2 million copies, and 2 million net paid circulation, which was the average daily number last year, was the highest level of net paid circulation of daily newspapers achieved in our country thus far. We have practically come close to the figure of 100 copies per 1,000 inhabitants, as against only 87 copies per 1,000, which was the case several years ago.

It is typical that both sports newspapers recorded the highest growth, in both absolute and relative terms, 8 and 7 percent, in comparison with 1978.

From looking over the trends of published and net paid circulation in 1978 and 1979, it is noted that the newspapers with higher rises in circulation have also registered a lowering of unsold copies at the same time. What is still more significant for some newspapers, SARAJEVSKE NOVINE, for example, the published circulation was even lower in 1979 than in 1978, but, in spite of this, an increase in net paid circulation took place, which also speaks well of more efficient business operations of the publishers of the daily press.

The total circulation for 30 publishers of daily and weekly political informational and review publications amounted to nearly 1.1 billion copies last year, which is about 5 percent higher than 1978. The greater part of the published circulation of these publishers is accounted for by the daily press and amounts to about 800 million copies for 1979, and about 300 million copies are accounted for by weekly, semi-monthly, and other publications. If it is kept in mind that in addition to these 30 most important newspaper publishers in our country who are covered by the data of the Business Community, there exist still several hundreds of publishers of weekly and semi-monthly publications of sociopolitical and work organizations (the newspapers KOMUNA, and of work organizations, etc.), it is estimated that the total circulations exceed over 1.2 billion copies.

From the practical standpoint, because of the fact that a very considerable circulation growth of all newspapers has been recorded during the last several years, and that the number of titles has increased, the total consumption of newsprint has also increased. Today, even though we continue to be behind the countries in Europe with respect to daily newspaper circulation, the same is not true with the consumption of newsprint. Namely, because of the large number of titles of a larger volume of both daily and other newspapers, the consumption of rotary newsprint in Yugoslavia is considerably higher per capita than is the case in many countries of Europe, where the circulation of daily newspapers is higher than in Yugoslavia.

During the last several years, the number of titles of specialized publications has increased, and a typical example in this respect is the newspaper NADA, which in a few years has attained one of the highest circulations in Yugoslavia. In addition to this paper, there are also two concerning themselves with similar subject matter.

**(1) UPOREDNI PREGLED  
PROSEČNO ŠAMPANIH TIRAŽA DNEVNIH  
LISTOVA ZA 1978. I 1979. GODINU**

Naziv lista (2)	(3) Štampani		Index
	1978.	1979.	
1	2	3	4
1. „Oslobođenje“	82.387	83.218	101
2. „Sarajevske novine“	18.856	18.402	98
3. „Pobjeda“	18.698	19.127	102
4. „Vjesnik“	87.749	88.819	101
5. „Večernji list“	288.355	277.258	103
6. „Sportske novosti“	154.188	161.619	107
7. „Slobodna Dalmacija“	84.575	87.803	105
8. „Novi list“ i „Glas Istre“	80.612	84.720	107
9. „Glas Slavonije“	13.620	14.238	105
10. „La voce del popolo“	3.383	3.680	108
11. „Nova Makedonija“	32.918	34.558	105
12. „Večer“	23.878	30.878	129
13. „Delo“	94.870	97.083	103
14. „Dnevnik“ - Ljubljana	86.542	87.582	102
15. „Večer“	87.888	88.414	101
16. „Borba“	80.357	49.111	60
17. „Večernje novosti“	343.432	354.841	108
18. „Sport“	111.878	120.479	108
19. „Politika“	283.433	289.163	102
20. „Ekspres“ politika	248.127	270.520	109
21. „Privredni pregled“	15.484	14.598	94
22. „Narodne novine“ - Niš	9.000	9.000	100
23. „Rilindja“	28.837	33.867	118
24. „Jedinstvo“	11.765	8.868	74
25. „Dnevnik“	30.122	30.080	100
26. „Forum“	31.488	31.809	100
<b>SFRJ UKUPNO (4)</b>	<b>2.202.565</b>	<b>2.303.223</b>	

**KEY:**

1. COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF AVERAGE PUBLISHED CIRCULATIONS OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS FOR 1978 AND 1979
2. Name of newspaper
3. Printings
4. TOTAL SFKY



**(1) UPOREDNI PREGLED  
PROSEČNO PRODATIH TIRAŽA DNEVNIH  
LISTOVA ZA 1978. I 1979. GODINU**

Naziv lista (2)	Prodati (3)		Index
	1978.	1979.	
1	2	3	4
1. «Oslobođenje»	69.623	70.169	101
2. «Sarajevske novine»	14.594	14.735	101
3. «Pobjeda»	16.450	16.983	103
4. «Vjesnik»	59.167	70.236	102
5. «Večernji list»	237.661	244.617	105
6. «Sportske novosti»	121.373	130.818	108
7. «Slobodna Dalmacija»	57.636	59.677	104
8. «Novi list» i «Glas Istre»	54.192	57.263	105
9. «Glas Slavonije»	11.800	12.119	102
10. «La voce del popolo»	2.209	2.624	114
11. «Nova Makedonija»	28.048	28.603	103
12. «Večer»	20.791	26.424	127
13. «Delo»	90.577	92.724	102
14. «Dnevnik» - Ljubljana	54.166	54.859	101
15. «Večer» - Maribor	54.565	55.021	101
16. «Borba»	35.785	36.829	103
17. «Večernje novosti»	299.922	322.684	108
18. «Sport»	91.934	97.709	106
19. «Politika»	246.667	252.234	102
20. «Ekspres» politika	221.544	236.691	108
21. «Privredni pregled»	15.484	14.586	94
22. «Rilindja»	25.068	31.006	124
23. «Jedinstvo»	9.137	7.357	81
24. «Dnevnik»	25.346	25.272	100
25. «Forum»	27.527	27.661	101
SFRJ UKUPNO (4)	1.901.637	1.991.523	105

Napomena. Za list «Narodne novine» Nis nisu dati podaci iako se radi o dnevnom listu, te je za prodati tiraž ovog lista i prikazani tiraž dnevne štampe manji.  
(5)

**KEY:**

1. COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF AVERAGE NET PAID CIRCULATIONS OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS FOR 1978 AND 1979
2. Name of newspaper
3. Number sold
4. TOTAL SFRJ
5. Note: The data for the newspaper NARODNE NOVINE-Nis are not given even though a daily newspaper is concerned here, and therefore, the daily newspaper circulation shown is lower by the amount of net paid circulation of this newspaper.

END  
173

## SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

### EASTERN EUROPE SERIAL REPORTS

EAST EUROPE REPORT: Economic and Industrial Affairs  
EAST EUROPE REPORT: Political, Sociological and Military Affairs  
EAST EUROPE REPORT: Scientific Affairs

### WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality  
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology  
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea  
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation  
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

13 JUNE 1980

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